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THE LANDHOLDING SYSTEM OF COLONIAL CHILE

INTRODUCTION

The study of the colonization of Chile is peculiarly interesting because it is that of the clash of two systems, or rather of two much separated stages of the feudal system. When, toward the middle of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards reached Chile, its native population was distributed in societies which radiated from the many smaller to the fewer larger, and thence to the yet fewer which were larger still, and there was even a further radiation, unmistakable if vague, to a single center. In other words, the polity had in embryo the form which historians have agreed to call feudal. Its basis had ceased to be purely personal, and was tending to become more and more territorial. The societies composing it were still highly collective. On this polity, at this stage of evolution, the Spaniards superimposed institutions which were imported, with certain adaptations, from sixteenth century Spain. The result of the clash was the greater part of the success and failure of the colonization of Chile.

As regards the society which the Spaniards found in Chile, it is true that the Incas, lords of Peru, established between 1410 and 1480 an overlordship of the country, and maintained it more or less for a century. But there is no evidence that they modified institutions importantly. Tradition and the facts observed by the Spaniards show with some certainty that the power of the Incas was, as far as possible, won and

held peacefully, that it was never a reality farther south than the River Maule and, above all, that it implied the payment of a tribute but not the expropriation, in any degree, of the native people. It did not therefore affect the landholding institutions of Chile.

I

THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE NATIVE PEOPLE

The Spaniards were the first people able to write who ever entered Chile, and knowledge of native institutions is therefore derived from Spanish documents. These are of two kinds: official documents of which certain have been included in the published series called "*Colección de Historiadores de Chile*,"¹ and good collections have been published by the Chilean antiquaries José Toribio Medina,² Claudio Gay,³ Monsignor Crescente Errázuriz⁴ and Domingo Amunátegui Solar,⁵ and of which others are among the archives preserved in the national library in Santiago;⁶ and chronicles and descriptions compiled by the conquerors and their successors. Of the latter, the letters written to Charles V. by him who was not merely a conqueror but *the* conqueror of Chile, Pedro de Valdivia,⁷ must come first, but they, like many of the official documents, may mislead because their author deliberately interpreted what he did not understand. Inferences are more confidently drawn from the narratives written merely to enter-

¹ Notably the records of Santiago town council in the sixteenth century, *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*.

² *Collección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de Chile*.

³ *Documentos sobre la Historia, la Estadística y la Geografía de Chile*.

⁴ In appendices and notes to his *Historia de la Iglesia Chilena*, and *Seis Años de la Historia de Chile*.

⁵ "Apuntaciones Documentos," being appendix to his *Las Encomiendas de Indígenas en Chile*; appendices to his *Mayorazgos i Titulos de Castilla*.

⁶ Especially the archives of the court of the Audiencia Real at Santiago.

⁷ These letters are printed in Vol. I of the "*Historiadores de Chile*" series. They are excellently translated by Cunninghame Graham in an appendix to his *Pedro de Valdivia*.

tain, notably the contemporary history of the conquest by Góngora Marmolejo, one of Valdivia's companions,⁸ and Francisco Núñez de Pineda's story of his seven years of captivity in the early seventeenth century among the Indians of south Chile.⁹ In the eighteenth century, when the southern Indians were enjoying almost completely regained independence and practising their ancient customs with only obvious modifications, two other observers wrote especially instructive works, namely, Don Pedro de Córdoba y Figueroa,¹⁰ a soldier, speaking the Indian language, who served in several expeditions to south Chile, and Father Miguel de Olivares,¹¹ a Jesuit missionary who dwelt in that district for many years.

When Valdivia reached Chile in 1540 he noted the strong family affection of the native people of the country and described their houses. He says:

They love their children and their wives exceedingly, and also their houses which they have well and strongly made of beams, many of them with two, four or eight doors.¹²

The importance of these dwellings and their several doorways suggest that each was intended to shelter not a family at its simplest but a couple of generations of one family and some collateral kinsfolk, and this surmise is confirmed by Núñez de Pineda who describes the home of his captor, the chief cacique Llancareu, in which lived Llancareu himself, his married son, his grandchildren and his maiden daughter, and which was separated only by a thin partition from the house of his other son, the cacique Maulicán. In both dwellings there were vaguely specified womenfolk.¹³ In fact, at the

⁸ Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, *Historia de Chile desde su Descubrimiento hasta el Año de 1575*, in "Historiadores de Chile".

⁹ Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascunán, *El Cautiverio Féliz*, in *ibid.*

¹⁰ *Historia de Chile*, in *ibid.*

¹¹ *Historia Militar, Civil y Sagrada de Chile*; and *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile*, both in *ibid.*

¹² *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia*, p. 55 (in "Historiadores de Chile").

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 87-88, 100; cf., *ibid.*, pp. 217 and 218 for the similar household of another chief.

time of the conquest the lowest unit of native society in Chile was the composite family, the small related community living together and grouped about a chief. It was the unit which all students of the history of European societies know well.

Other evidence of the family solidarity which characterizes all societies based on this unit is found in the criminal law. The responsibility for a crime rested on the offender's kindred as well as himself; the guilt attached to the whole family group. Patricide was not a criminal offense because the man who killed his father was held to have spilt his own blood.¹⁴ The solidarity of families gave rise also to the institution of heredity: dignities were inherited; sons inherited their fathers' wives (with the exception of their own mothers) and their fathers' animals. There is no mention of primogeniture, and it is likely that the most worthy of the grown-up sons of a cacique was chosen to succeed him.

The title of cacique seems to have been given to every head of a household, or to every grown man on whom women, youths, and children depended. The higher dignitaries were also caciques but might enjoy additional titles.

The wife was her husband's chattel whom he bought from her father, paying for her in cattle in the eighteenth century and probably in llamas before the Spanish invasion. If he killed her he was not punished because it was held that he could do what he chose with what he had bought. The men were polygamous: they had, according to the Spaniards, as many wives as they could afford. For the money spent on a wife was an investment: while the business of the men was to hunt and to fight, that of the women was to bear and tend children, cook, weave, and care for animals, and to cultivate the soil except for the great works of ploughing and harvesting, so that it was the women who preserved and largely created wealth. Weddings were celebrated in the public meeting-place and great value attached to the act of marriage. If a

¹⁴ M. de Olivares, *Hist. Militar, Civil y Sagrada*, ch. X.

woman bore children before she was sold to matrimony she was disgraced, and the children so born had a special name and were probably unable to enjoy the full rights of the member of a family.¹⁵

Houses so strong as those which Valdivia describes must have been more than temporary shelters. That the family communities were settled in their houses and on their lands, that they did not customarily shift their dwellings from one site to another, is also proved by the advanced state of agriculture when the country was discovered. There is repeated evidence of irrigation in the dry region of central Chile. Of the districts about Santiago and about La Serena, Góngora Marmolejo says that the people watered the sown land "with water which they take from the rivers, and they lead it by canals to irrigate their holdings."¹⁶ Valdivia, who seems to have enjoyed some savoury native messes, reported that the natives cultivated maize, potatoes, the oil-yielding plant called *madia*, capsicum, kidney-beans and cinchona.¹⁷

Núñez de Pineda's agricultural information betrays the additional fact that there was a wider unit of society than the household, a community made up of households settled in a district and doing some of the work of tillage jointly. He shows the households distributed in *cavas*, sometimes called *cavies*. He relates that when, during the spring, he was the guest of Cacique Tureupillán, Cacique Quilalebo, evidently chief of the larger community, invited

those of his cava and faction [*parcialidad*] among whom was my host, Cacique Tureupillán. . . . We went to Quilalebo's house where there was a gathering of men with their ploughs, with the implements like three-pronged forks called *huellos* and with other implements like furnace shovels. With these they tilled the soil and made the furrows in which the women went sowing. The author of the feast and master of the cultivated land slaughters many calves, llamas, and

¹⁵ For marriage customs, see *ibid.*, ch. XV.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 2.

¹⁷ *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia*, p. 55.

sheep, and each one finds that the land on which he works and discharges his task (*tarea*) is strewn with jars of *chicha*,¹⁸ and that there are several fires on which meat is roasting and stews are being cooked. Thence from time to time the women carry food and drink to the men.¹⁹

There were like gatherings for the work of harvest, and of building when this was necessary. It is clear that the Chilean households were organized in communities, each having its chief, and there are indications that these communities were united by a traditional tie of blood. Pedro de Valdivia, in a letter to the king, also refers to them, calling them *behetrias* in which the caciques were united and which had names.²⁰ The names were those of places as well as societies, the *cavas* existing in the geography of the country. Valdivia speaks of them as containing from twenty to thirty men, but Núñez states that more than sixty men, in addition to women and children, were present at Quilalebo's spring gathering.²¹ Probably in the southern district which Núñez knew, a country of adequate rainfall, the *cavas* were larger than in the arid central zone described by Valdivia.

There is a difficulty in the numerous references to Spanish "reductions" of the Indians to "villages". "The pacific Indians", says Pedro de Córdoba, referring to the people of the central zone in the late sixteenth century, "were reduced to villages, their Spanish lords being very solicitous for this".²² The measure was a most unpopular one with the

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 278.

¹⁹ Prescott says that the Indians of Peru made *chicha* from maize and Cunningham Graham makes the same statement about the Indians of Colombia. But in Chile it was certainly made from the fermented juice of other plants, for Góngora de Marmolejo informs us that the Indians made wine from "maize and other plants"; Núñez de Pineda speaks of *chicha* made from apples; and Santiago de Tesillo, another seventeenth century writer, says that the Chilean Indians made "different *chichas* from all the crops they harvest which are infinite in number". The delicious *chicha* of modern Chile is made from grape juice.

²⁰ *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia*, p. 13.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 278.

²² Córdoba y Figueroa, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

people affected. When, in 1641, the Marqués de Baidés, who then represented the king of Spain in Chile, made peace at the town of Imperial with a congress of Indians, he undertook that none of them should be "reduced" to a "village of ranches²³ or a stockade".²⁴ The fact seems to have been that the cavas were too widely scattered to be recognized as villages by the Spaniards, who aimed at bringing them to such self-contained sites as were more easily assimilated by the colonial system.

In some instances there may have been a unit intermediate between the cava and the household. Witnesses in an enquiry held in 1565 were asked whether they knew that in the district of Valdivia there were "many large cavas which have beneath them and subject to them other small cavas which are called *machuelas* and *pichicavas*". In reply, one witness stated that there were four or five *machuelas* in every cava.²⁵ The evidence is clearly supplied by persons who did not understand the native organization, but it may indicate that some of the composite families within the cavas were so large as to constitute hamlets.

The fact that a cava practised collective tillage raises the question of how far rights of property had evolved among this people when they entered history. That their llamas, the livestock which they kept at the time of the discovery, and afterwards their cattle, sheep, and horses, were in individual ownership is proved by the marriage customs. All the animals of a cava seem to have been united in a communal flock, which grazed at a distance from the tilled land and was herded by the boys and often driven from place to place.

As to rights of property in land, Ricardo Latcham has sought to prove,²⁶ from evidence given in a lawsuit of 1560,

²³ In Chile the small cottage of mud and thatch, which is the usual dwelling of a peasant living on his employer's farm, is still called a *rancho* or *ranchito*.

²⁴ Córdoba y Figueroa, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

²⁵ Medina, *Documentos inéditos*, XVIII. 406.

²⁶ In *La Lectura* (Santiago), Year I, No. 1, July, 1922.

that individual Indians of central Chile let and sold land in the fifteenth century. All the witnesses in this case were Indians. The first of them stated that "in the time when the lords Incas governed this country, which is very long ago", Ironabel and Nitipande, caciques, lent a small piece of land to two caciques, named Tureoleve and Quilencare, in return for a reddish sheep [*i.e.*, llama], beads, a piece of gold, and a silver girdle. The version of the second witness was that "long before Don Diego Almagro came to these lands",²⁷ Ironabel and Nitipande sold the land in question to Tureoleve and Quilencare for two pieces of gold, seven sheep and beads. This statement was varied by the third witness only inasmuch as he dated the transaction "in the time of the Incas" and gave the price as "two piece of gold and a piece of silver". The fourth and last witness told a less intelligible story of a sale of the land "long before Almagro and Valdivia came".²⁸

All this evidence of a transaction about a century old proves only the existence of a tradition that this land had been conveyed from certain caciques to other caciques. It may have been that the chief and his son and heir conveyed to another chief and his son and heir, or that the chief and the dependent who stood next to him in importance conveyed to two other caciques similarly related. But the overwhelming probability is that the conveyance was in truth not that of land but of a chieftainship. This probability is created, in the first place, by much evidence regarding analogous societies, and secondly by the form of the interrogatory put to the witnesses, which Señor Latcham has quoted wrongly and which implies that the dwellers on the land had collective rights in it. The witnesses were asked

whether they know, have seen or have heard that the said caciques, Ironabel and Nitipande, sold the piece of land which the said Pedro Gómez now has to his Indians, and whether they know that the said

²⁷ Diego de Almagro in 1536 led from Peru the first and unsuccessful Spanish expedition into Chile.

²⁸ Archivo de la Real Audiencia (Santiago), 206.

Indians of the said Pedro Gómez gave him [*le*, perhaps a mistake for *les* which would mean "them"] for the land seven sheep and four girdles of gold and one of silver and many beads [*chaquira*] of turquoises of Cuzco and of this country, so that the sale passed between them in effect as sales and purchases are wont to be effected among them.²⁹

The implication undoubtedly is that the Indians who held of Pedro Gómez had, traditionally, collective rights in his land.

The probability that the land of a cava belonged to all the people living in it arises also out of the known facts regarding agriculture. Núñez de Pineda's reference to the "master" of the cultivated land,³⁰ namely, Cacique Quilalebo, is evidently that of a seventeenth century Spaniard not to a land-owner but to the chieftain of a primitive community. We are specifically told that not only preliminary tillage and harvesting were collective, but also sowing and the works which intervened between sowing and the harvest, which were done by all the women of the cava together, with the occasional help of the lads.³¹ It is, indeed, possible that, as occurred in some other societies, the land was divided into lots before the great spring works of tillage and sowing, and a special lot then assigned to each household. It is to such a custom that Núñez may refer when he says that each man had his task (*tarea*) of ploughing and digging.³² But there is no proof even of such provisional and incipient individualism of landholding. All that is certain is that the harvests were divided among households. "That which is harvested", says Father Olivares, "is at the disposal of all the people of a household",³³ and Valdivia describes the native houses as stored with every kind of foodstuff.³⁴ Father Olivares also comments on the rarity of fences in south Chile.³⁵

²⁹ Archivo de la Real Audiencia, *loc. cit.*

³⁰ *Vide supra.*

³¹ Núñez de Pineda, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 278.

³³ *Hist. Militar, Civil y Sagrada*, p. 62.

³⁴ *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia.*

³⁵ *Loc. cit.*

Landlordship was hereditary like other dignities. There is a document which seems to prove that it could pass to a woman, a grant made in 1599 by the royal audiencia at Santiago to Gonsalo Martínez of the lands, lying seven leagues from Santiago, which his mother, Mariana Piesunlien, an Indian woman, had inherited from her ancestors.³⁶ It must be remembered, however, that Mariana's hereditary right had been heavily weighted by her marriage with Gonsalo's father, a Spaniard, probably such a union as was frequent in other South American countries, for instance Peru and Paraguay, where conquerors frequently chose the daughters of powerful caciques for their wives, in order the more easily to win the allegiance of the dependents of these chieftains. This expedient was much more unusual, yet not quite neglected, in Chile.

As households were included in a cava, so beyond the cavas there were wider units. But there is nothing to show that the economic chain extended beyond the cava. There is no proof that any larger group held property in common, nor any evidence that tribute was paid by any group at all to any other. Of the way in which the tribute anciently due to the Incas was collected we have no information.

The cava was comprised immediately in a society which also acknowledged a chief, that society which the Spaniards called the *regua*. "Five, six or seven cavas", says a document dated 1555, "make a regua . . . and within the regua the natives from time immemorial have been brothers and kinsfolk",³⁷ a statement which implies that the traditional bond of relationship existed not only in the cava but also in the wider society which embraced it. In other documents the word *lebo* or *levo* is used instead of *regua* and in some the reference is to the *regua* or *lebo*.³⁸ When, in 1551, Valdivia was describing his settlement of Concepción to the king, he said of the district immediately north of the River Biobio that

³⁶ Archivo de la Real Audiencia, 596, vol. 160.

³⁷ Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, XXIX. 254.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XVII. 32 and XVIII. 403, 406.

it was distributed in levos, each one named after its chief, in which "the Indians recognize subjection to their superiors".³⁹ Half a century later, a Spanish chronicler enumerated in Chile south of the Biobio nine reguas then in rebellion, nine belonging to "the state of Tucapel" and ten which were of Catiray.⁴⁰

Núñez speaks both of the reguas and of yet larger units, namely three districts, called *uttamapos*, into which he tells us, distinctly and more than once, that the land south of the Biobio was divided—the coast district, the district of the Cordillera, and the intermediate district. Each of these districts must have comprehended several reguas. Each had its chief, its principal cacique whose office was hereditary, but

if he be very old or not much of an orator they are wont to substitute for him one who seems to them knowing, capable and discreet.⁴¹

There is other proof that the hereditary chief was sometimes superseded by an elected commander in time of war.⁴² Father Olivares says that the land south of the Biobio was distributed not into three but into four districts or *amapus*, each having a chief who spoke for his subjects at the congresses which the Spaniards held with the southern Indians in the eighteenth century.⁴³ The two authorities are so explicit on this point as to suggest that the fourth, perhaps the most southern of the districts, was not in cohesion with the others at the time of which Núñez wrote, but was separated from them, probably by a state of war. That there were four districts in the south is proved by a statement in 1881 that such number had concerted the rising of that date.⁴⁴

³⁹ *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia*, p. 54.

⁴⁰ Luis Tribaldos de Toledo, *Vista Jeneral*, in "Historiadores de Chile", pp. 134-135. The nine reguas in rebellion were those of Panguerova, Millarapue, Quido, Quiapo, Lavapie, Lebo, Taulero, Coleura, and Arauco; the nine "of the state of Tucapel" were Molhuilli, Lincoya, Pilmaiquen, Tucapel, Paycavi, Angolmo, Tomeluco, Cayocupil, and Elicura.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 40, 360.

⁴² Olivares, *Hist. Militar, Civil y Sagrada*, p. 58.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴⁴ See Horacio Lara, *Crónica de la Araucana*.

Núñez has one anecdote which, at first sight, seems to imply that the three districts which he mentions were always independent of each other. He was staying in Cacique Quilalebo's house, evidently in the district between the mountains and the sea, when a messenger arrived from a distant chief, carrying an arrow which was the recognized signal for a war council. Núñez says that this summons, because it came from another district, was not obligatory for Quilalebo or his men, that he was bound to do no more than publish the news of the coming of the arrow, so that any of his men who chose might volunteer for the impending war.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, it is certain that there was occasional systematic cohesion between the three districts. They undoubtedly conducted together the campaign against the Spaniards in the course of which Núñez was captured. After it they jointly held a meeting at which the elaborate ceremonial paid equal respect to each of their several entities. It culminated in the execution of a Spanish soldier, erected into the symbol of his nation, whose heart was carved into three pieces, each shared and consumed by the men of a district.⁴⁶

Similarly, the four districts which Father Olivares calls the amapus were, as he testifies, each represented at the eighteenth century congresses.⁴⁷ They retained for more than a hundred years longer enough reality and cohesive force to enable their men to meet in a war council and organize with judgment a concerted campaign against a common enemy. This is proved by the statement of an Indian warrior who was captured in 1881 by the general of the army of the republic of Chile and who turned informer. He called the four districts *butalmapus*, evidently the same word as that which Núñez de Pineda transliterated *uttamapos* and Father de Olivares *amapus*.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 360.

⁴⁶ Núñez de Pineda, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43.

⁴⁷ *Hist. Militar, Civil y Sagrada*, p. 84.

“The rising”, he said, referring to that then in course against the authority of the republic,

is general. The four butalmapus are included in it. The caciques of the uplands and the lowlands have decided to put an end to the villages which have been made between the Biobio and this point [Fort Traguén] and between Mulchen and Angol. The lowland caciques insist that the uplanders begin the action, first taking Adencul village and fort. Once this is done by us, the uplanders, they will easily take Lumaco and Los Sauces, Cacique Marilecolipi seizing the one and Cacique Hentecal the other. When these forts have been captured, lowlanders and uplanders will unite on the land of Quechereguas, and thence they will march to attack Angol, Collipuli, Mulchi and all the villages, advancing up the Biobio. This is the caciques’ plan.⁴⁸

Beyond this loose unity in the south of the butalmapus, there is evidence of a degree of solidarity among the whole native people of Chile. When the south rebelled in the last years of the sixteenth century, there were sympathetic movements in the center, the Indians in Quillota Valley celebrating, as the citizens of Santiago asserted, “the rites and ceremonies by which their people were wont to declare war”.⁴⁹ Probably they had been notified of the rebellion and invited to join it, for before the great rising of the south in 1655 “the blood-stained arrow” which summoned to a war-council was carried through all central Chile, then long and completely subject to Spain and apparently quite cut off from the south. It even reached Coquimbo, near the border of the northern desert.⁵⁰ Again, before the rising of the south in 1723 “the arrow ran” among the Indians serving the Spaniards in the center, and was said to have been received by those of Quillota, La Ligua, and Melipilla.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Lara, *Crónica de la Araucana*.

⁴⁹ Document quoted by Mgr. Crescente Errázuriz in his *Seis Años de la Historia de Chile*, I. 87.

⁵⁰ Olivares, *Hist. de los Jesuitas de Chile*, p. 306.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 548.

What machinery held the social system together? The cohesive force was exercised through the medium first of the authority of the chiefs, secondly of meetings regularly held by each group. Every cava, every regua, every butalmapu had its meeting-place, a clear space chosen, according to the poet conqueror, Alonso de Ercilla, for its beauty as well as for its convenient situation.⁵² According to a document of 1565

they assemble and hold a congregation in the cava, and there they kill and eat their sheep, they make contracts as though in a market or general fair, and they celebrate marriages and concert war and peace;⁵³

and in another document of the same date there is the statement that each cava within a regua

has its drinkers, its game of *chueca*, and the place where balls and dances are held, where men hire themselves, the one to the other, and where there is selling and drinking.⁵⁴

There is evidence also of the meetings of the larger groups, culminating in Núñez de Pineda's description, to which allusion has been made, of the great assembly of the three butalmapus. It is clear that the meeting-place and the chief were the outward signs of the integrity of this society and of its various units.

It remains to examine the business which was transacted collectively. Probably cultivation and the distribution of produce sometimes occupied cava meetings, but it has already been said that there is no evidence of economic connections binding the larger groups. The administration of justice must have rested ultimately on a wider basis than the economy. Father Olivares mentions murder, theft, and harmful witchcraft as punishable offenses. Murder entailed the pay-

⁵² See his *La Araucana*; cf. Núñez de Pineda, *op. cit.*, p. 96, and Luís Tribal-dos de Toledo, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁵³ Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, XVIII. 406.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

ment of a fine by the murderer's kindred, presumably to the kindred of his victim. Of theft, the same authority says:

when they think they have ascertained a theft, the injured man with his faction goes to the thief's house. If this thief be poor they are wont to do justice by hanging him or cutting his throat, but if he have goods, four or more times the amount stolen is taken.⁵⁵

The word "faction" (*parcialidad*) may here have the same meaning as when Núñez uses it in his description of collective tillage, and refer to the cava. More probably, the sense of the passage is merely that justice was collective, that it was wreaked by one household on another if offender and offended belonged to the same cava, by one cava or one of the larger groups on another if they were not members of the same one. The importance of the offense and the fact that offender and offended belonged to separate large groups would turn punishment into war, and the decision to make war was certainly taken in the meeting-place of the group involved. Whether this meeting-place were invariably the court of criminal justice is uncertain. There is no proof that households could not, on their unaided initiative, wreak vengeance on each other. But the stage to which the civic sense of this people had advanced makes it probable that the conviction of a criminal and the sanction of his punishment had a public character. Since marital, hiring, and other contracts were made in the folkmoths, it is likely that justice was administered there.

Thus it may be said that the meeting-places were used for councils of war and the administration of the law. There is nothing to show that failure to attend them entailed penalties, nor is it easy to see how any such could have been enforced. The effective attraction of the folkmoths may have partly existed in their usefulness, but mainly, in all probability, it lay in the fact that they supplied pleasure and fed superstition. The pleasure was provided by feasting, drinking,

⁵⁵ *Hist. Militar, Civil y Sagrada*, pp. 45-46, 59-60.

dancing, singing, and instrumental music,⁵⁶ and by games, *chueca*, and *pillan*, in which one side played against another and which ministered to the taste responsible for *el futbolismo* of modern Chile. Pleasure was also afforded by oratory, to which this people gave great value and which was so indispensable to a chief, as a means of influence, that he could hardly hold his office without it. The conclusion can hardly be far from the truth that the Indians delighted in attendance at their folkmoors, and that at them they were controlled by the oratory of their chiefs.⁵⁷

Yet the superstitious motive was indisputably strong. The folkmoor was an expression of conscious unity, connected with the conception of mutual kinship and the hereditary virtue of the chief. A ritual of council, more or less symbolical, was observed. The sheep-killing, to which the quoted documents refer, was sacrificial or at least symbolic, often if not always, although it may always have been the prelude to a feast. The appeal to the rhythmic sense in the music and dancing helped to give a mystical character to these meetings. The people desired to attend them and feared superstitiously not to attend them: therefore they were alive and forceful.

In the open-air meetings which are still held by the Indians in some parts of south Chile, they are accustomed to license the native women doctors, still called *machis*, who hand on, generally from aunt to niece, their secret knowledge of magic and herbs. It may therefore be presumed that when this Indian society flourished unadulterated, the public meetings had the function of inducting the members of the sacerdotal order. These were of two kinds, the *huecubuyes* who were in communion with a god and the *machis* who were the familiars of devils. In the seventeenth century, the Indians of the outlying island of Santa María rejected the services of certain Jesuit missionaries because they had, they said, their own

⁵⁶ Núñez de Pineda mentions trumpets, clarinets, and flutes, presumably the instruments which those used by the Indians most closely resembled.

⁵⁷ Núñez de Pineda, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

gods, customs and huecubuyes, as well as their machis.⁵⁸ But in less remote districts the huecubuyes had at this time lost importance.

"In the past more than in these days", an old cacique told Núñez de Pineda,

there were in all our factions some huecubuyes, called *renis*, who were like your priests. They went clothed in long cloaks, either with their own hair long or wearing false hair, and thus they were distinguished from the rest of the people. They kept themselves apart from others, and at times held no communion with them or intercourse with women, but stayed alone in the mountains, in dark caves in which they consulted the spirit whom wizards and the demon-possessed machis know for god.⁵⁹

There was thus a contrast between the ascetic huecubuyes, and the machis who, in recorded instances, were not women like their modern descendants, but sexual perverts wearing women's clothes.⁶⁰

II

THE IMPORTED INSTITUTIONS

The Spanish colonization of Chile turned upon towns, founded at strategic points throughout the country. Pedro de Valdivia's first foundation dates from 1540. On a tableland, whence the Mapocho Valley leads to the roadstead which he named Valparaiso, stands the low hill now called the Cerro Santa Lucía, about which the River Mapocho separated, in those days, into two branches, forming an island. Valdivia chose this island site for his first town because of its defensibility, its accessibility to a harbor whence Peru could be

⁵⁸ Olivares, *Hist. de los Jesuitas*, p. 68.

⁵⁹ Núñez de Pineda, *op. cit.*; cf. Olivares, *Hist. Militar, Civil y Sagrada*, ch. XII.

⁶⁰ Núñez de Pineda, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

reached by ship, and the richness of the lands which lay about it in the Mapocho and Aconcagua valleys. There was nothing haphazard about his townmaking. In general accordance with the royal decree concerning the laying out of new towns, he "traced" five streets running straight from east to west and six from north to south, and in the center he

caused the Plaza to be outlined as a perfect square . . . and with religious piety he took the cord to trace the site of the church, which he placed on the west side and reverently marked with a cross.⁶¹

The arrangement of the streets left the land of the town divided into squares of equal size, each of which formed four lots, the whole number of the lots being severally assigned to some sixty conquerors for their dwellings. "We built ourselves houses of wood and straw on the plan I traced", he wrote to the king, "and on this site I founded the city of Santiago del Nuevo Extremo".⁶² It was defended by a stockade. To the sixty odd Spaniards settled in this fortified town, Valdivia made large grants of land and Indians which covered the extensive surrounding district bounded by the River Choapa on the north and the Maule on the south.⁶³ It behoved the grantees to hold the country and to live on its produce. In 1545, Santiago was granted a municipal governing body, called a *cabildo* or chapter.⁶⁴ The right to elect to the cabildo belonged to all who held inhabited houses in the town, that is to all who therefore ranked as its burghers or *vecinos*.

In 1544, Valdivia founded a second fortified municipality in Chile, La Serena, not far south of that point on the coast where fertile Chile meets the desert which separates it from

⁶¹ Córdoba y Figueroa, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁶² *Cartas*, p. 2.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁶⁴ *Actas del Cabildo*, in "Colección de Historiadores de Chile", I. 67; Gay, *Documentos*, I. 211; *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia*, p. 11.

Peru. The new town was designed to guard the entrance into Chile and to supply troops coming thither from Peru. It received a plan as symmetrical as that of Santiago; its lots of land were assigned to ten vecinos; and its cabildo was elected. The district between the River Copiapo, at some distance north of La Serena, and the River Choapa, the northern limit of the Santiago territory, was distributed among the vecinos of the new town.⁶⁵

In 1550, Valdivia reported to the king that the lands he had allotted nine years before among some sixty vecinos of Santiago no longer sufficed to maintain them because most of the inhabitants had dispersed or were dead.⁶⁶ The drastic "chastisements" by which the conquerors kept the native population in check must indeed have occasioned many deaths and also, most probably, a real trek to the unconquered south.⁶⁷ Moreover, these vecinos were looking covetously from their lands in the center which, owing to the annual eight months' drought, were unproductive without laborious irrigation, towards the south with its plentiful rainfall. Valdivia knew that nothing would so "soothe their spirits" (to use his own phrase) as a campaign which promised to be gainful. He saw, at the same time, the advantage of pushing into the south in order to check the tendency of the Indians of the center to drift thither into freedom and safety, and in order to end their constant liability to receive help from their southern brothers.

Accordingly, he reduced the vecinos of Santiago by about one half,⁶⁸ settling those whom he thus deprived of their holdings, with other Spaniards, in five towns which he founded in South Chile—Concepción, Imperial, Valdivia, Confines or

⁶⁵ Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, II. 11.

⁶⁶ *Cartas*, p. 22.

⁶⁷ Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, VIII. 120 ff.

⁶⁸ *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia*, p. 24.



Infantes, and Villarica. The map will show that the sites were chosen to command the southern district: Concepción, on the coast at the mouth of the great River Biobio; Imperial, at the confluence of the Rivers Cautin and Las Damas and at the foot of a low hill; Valdivia, at the extreme southern limit of Pedro's conquests and at the mouth of the beautiful river of the same name. These three towns could be provisioned from the sea and each of them commanded the valley of its river. Villarica lay on the shore of an inland lake, between Imperial and Valdivia and connected with the coast by the Tolten Valley; and Confines, so called because it stood on the boundary of the territories subject to Concepción and to Imperial, was inland on the plain of Angol and on a low hill dominating the fertile lands watered by the River Tolten. To each of these towns Valdivia gave the usual geometrical plan; in each he planted a municipality; and in each he settled vecinos to whom he granted plots in the town on which to build their houses, and large rights outside it. In several or all of these towns he

also made forts. Thus when he distributed the sites comprised in his plan of Concepción to the forty conquerors who were to be its vecinos, he retained one square on which he built a fortified tower, and this was not given into individual ownership but was garrisoned by fifty men-at-arms, including twenty horsemen. Others of Valdivia's forts were not within town but isolated.⁶⁹

Francisco de Villagra, who succeeded Valdivia as governor, founded no town within modern Chile, but in Valdivia's lifetime he had marched into the rich Transandine country, and there brought the town of Santiago del Estero, newly founded by a rebellious Spanish captain, to submit to his authority.⁷⁰ Valdivia's work was continued by Don García Hurtado de Mendoza who founded two towns in south Chile, Tucapel or Cañete, on the site of one of Valdivia's forts, and Osorno in a place where Valdivia had wished to build a town. In the four years of his governorship this young man also had time to send one of his captains to found Mendoza and San Juan de la Frontera in the country beyond the Andes where Villagra had been before him.⁷¹ The ultramontaniam of these two governors caused some territory now Argentine to be included for a time in the province of Chile. The land about Osorno was the southernmost comprised in the colony, except the island of Chiloe on which, some twenty years later, a governor named Martín Ruíz de Gamboa founded Castro.

The towns were the cardinal points, the hinges, of the colonial system of Chile. In each the vecinos were settled as in a garrison; and from each they ruled over the land which lay between the towns and was distributed among them. The

⁶⁹ *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia*, pp. 46-62; Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, IX. 447-449; Góngora de Marmolejo, *op. cit.*, chs. XI, XII, XIII.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, ch. XIII.

⁷¹ Góngora de Marmolejo, *op. cit.*, chs. XXVII, XXIX; Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, *Hechos de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza*, in "Historiadores de Chile", pp. 60, 62, 76, 80, 81.

maintenance of the lines of communication between the towns therefore depended upon the exercise by the vecinos of the rights over land and people granted them. Here and there, outside as well as in the towns, were forts which it was incumbent on them to man and maintain. Such was the system in its military aspect. It had an economic aspect for each grantee enjoyed the fruits of his holding and, within limits, of the labor of its inhabitants, saving that he was obliged to leave part of these fruits to the inhabitants and to render another fraction of them to the royal treasury. Thirdly, the system had a jurisdictional aspect. Every grantee was responsible for the policing of the territory within his grant, such power of his being limited by the jurisdiction of the town of which he was a vecino. The local jurisdictional competence of each town was, in its turn, limited by the power centralized in the governor whose seat was Santiago, and the governor owed obedience, in a varying and disputed degree, to the viceroy of Peru who, finally, was directly subject to the king of Spain. But regal intervention in this absolute empire could be and often was evoked, and even obtained, by lesser authorities than the viceroy—by the governor of Chile, by a municipality, or by an individual vecino.

The system was that which the Spaniards had already introduced into Peru. Pedro de Valdivia, wishing presumably to safeguard himself against any accusation of having exceeded his original commission from Pizarro, obtained in 1548 another from Licentiate Gasca which allowed him, in right of the power vested by the king in Pizarro as viceroy of Peru, to make grants of two kinds. He might bestow sites for houses and farms on the conquerors, and he might distribute in *encomiendas* the lands which he discovered and pacified.⁷² The first of these authorities enabled him to con-

⁷² Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, XXIX. 89.

fer cultivable plots and sites for houses in the towns, and also farms in the neighborhood of the towns. Technically, only such land was granted to the conquerors. But under the second authority, Valdivia could also "recommend" (*encomendar*) to them the Indians over wide, vaguely delimited areas. The terminology was that of European feudalism. When, in medieval Europe, a weaker landlord gave a stronger landlord his fealty and, in return, received from him protection, he had "recommended" himself to him, and had thereby become his man or vassal. It was this relation, one not servile, which in legality the charters of Valdivia and his successors established between the Spanish landlords of Chile, the *encomenderos*, and the Indians "recommended" to them, their *encomendados*, who were the inhabitants and tenants of the *encomiendas*. However much the powers conveyed by the grants of *encomiendas* may sometimes have been abused, it is clear that the Spanish authorities, the king and the council of the Indies which sat at Madrid, did not wish the native people of the American colonies to be enslaved.⁷³

That the Indians may leave their vices, and especially the nefarious crime of eating human flesh,⁷⁴ and that they may be taught and in-

⁷³ This, roughly speaking, was the theory of the *encomienda*, but there was considerable discrepancy between the theory and practice. Literally, the word "encomienda" denotes a "charge", a "trust", a "commission", a "recommendation", a "protection", a "defense", or "the income derived from a certain place or territory conceded formerly by the king as a reward for some service"; and "encomendar" denotes "to recommend", "to give in *encomienda*". The phrase "dar en *encomienda*" is usually translated "to give (or allot) in *encomienda*". The *encomienda* system, introduced in all faith by Spain into its colonies in order to cure the evils of the utterly ruthless repartimiento system, did accomplish much, but its provisions were readily evaded by unscrupulous *encomenderos*, and the primary meanings of the words "encomienda" and "encomendar" were frequently forgotten, notwithstanding the efforts of missionaries and reformers. The *encomendero* usually looked upon the *encomienda* as his means of livelihood and self interest blinded him to many things. Miss Douglas-Irvine shows admirably in Part III of the present paper how the system degenerated from its intention when instituted.—Ed.

⁷⁴ Except the account mentioned on page 17 of the eating of the heart of a Spanish soldier in a public assembly, I have found no evidence that the Chilean

structed in good uses and customs and in our faith and Christian doctrine, it behooves and is necessary that they be recommended to Christians in order that these may be served by them as free persons.

Such was the wording of a capitulary of Charles V. issued for Peru.⁷⁵

Certain public obligations of the encomenderos were strictly in accordance with feudal usage. Each of them was obliged to keep a horse and arms, that is to be prepared for military service. According to an ordinance made by Charles V. in 1537 for Peru, and valid for Chile by the terms of Valdivia's commission, a minor who succeeded to an encomienda had to maintain an esquire to do his military service until he was himself of an age to bear arms.⁷⁶ Record of the oath sworn before the king's scrivener by Don Alonso Campofrío y Carvajal, when he succeeded to an encomienda in Chile in 1638, has been discovered in the archives of the Cerda family. It is as follows:

He swore duly to God and on the cross and did homage. He swore to be a faithful and loyal vassal to the king, our lord, and to his successors in this and his other kingdoms, and to put himself beneath the royal standard every time he was summoned, and to defend it until he lost his life, doing all that a good and loyal vassal of his Majesty is bound to do, on pain of treachery and of losing his encomienda, and at the end of the said oath he said, "So do I swear, Amen".⁷⁷

Sometimes the military duty was specific. When Marina Ortiz de Gaeta, Pedro de Valdivia's widow, ceded an encomienda near Arauco to Francisco Gutiérrez de Valdivia, her husband's nephew, he became bound, in his own name and that of his wife, or the legitimate son who might succeed him, to maintain the fort of Arauco to an extent proportionate to

Indians were ever cannibals, and the eating in this instance was entirely ceremonial and symbolical.

⁷⁵ Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, IV. 237.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, XIV. 22.

⁷⁷ Printed by Amunátegui Solar in his *Mayorazgos i Títulos de Castilla*, I. 173.

the number of Indians included in the *encomienda*.⁷⁸ The military incidents of land tenure were burdensome in the extreme in this country of perpetual warfare, and the *vecinos* of Santiago protested more than once against their liability to serve in the unending war against the southern Indians.⁷⁹

Each *encomendero* was also obliged to mend the king's roads and bridges within the limits of his *encomienda*, a very old incident of European land tenure.

Another duty, which was a real one, belonged to the missionary side of this colonization. Every *encomendero* was bound to teach the Indians "recommended" to him

the things of our holy Catholic faith, and if there be religious in the town, he must take thither the sons of the *caciques* that they may be instructed in our holy Catholic religion.

Sometimes it was stipulated that if no "clerks or friars" were available, "a person of good life and example" should give the teaching.⁸⁰ But this last provision was for an exceptional state of affairs. The "recommended" Indians were normally distributed in so-called *doctrinas* or doctrines, each of them the cure of one priest who received a stipend, paid partly by the Indians to whom he ministered but mainly by their *encomendero*. An archidiaconal council held at Lima in 1567 ruled that the bishop should determine the amount of this stipend, a decision confirmed next year by Philip II. But the bishop's competency in this matter was disputed by the governor, and in the end it was decided that bishop and governor should agree on the proper salaries. Similarly, the right to nominate to these benefices was disputed between the civil and the ecclesiastical authority, that is between the court of the royal *audiencia* or the governor, as representing the king, and

⁷⁸ Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, X. 281.

⁷⁹ Cf. Crescente Errázuriz, *Seis Años de la Historia de Chile*, I. 16.

⁸⁰ The conditions of tenure are stipulated in the grants of *encomiendas* of which some are cited later in this paper and many others are printed by Medina in *Documentos Inéditos*.

the bishop. Neither side definitely established in this century a right of nomination.⁸¹ The doctrinas of central Chile, each with its priest and its chapel, were the germs of the modern parishes. In 1585, there were twenty-four of them in the lands between the Rivers Choapa and Maule which were held by the vecinos of Santiago, only five in the far less populated country dependent on La Serena.⁸²

Yet another condition of the grants of encomiendas was part of the established policy of colonization. They stipulated that the encomenderos should leave to the principal caciques their wives and children and the other Indians who served them. This most interesting clause shows the efforts of the conquerors to absorb the native feudalism into the feudal system they introduced. The design was not to disorganize and reorganize native society but to bind its highest authorities to a superior allegiance, thus binding and centralizing it in its entirety. The chiefs were to be apportioned to the encomenderos, and through the chiefs all the fealties which attached to them.⁸³

Valdivia wrote from Concepción:

I distributed the caciques on this side of the river . . . by their *lebos*, each one by its name, for they are, as it were, named, and in them the Indians recognize subjection to their chiefs.⁸⁴

It was on this principle that, to the best of their knowledge, the governors of Chile made these grants. One of Valdivia's charters declares:

I recommend to you in his Majesty's name by this present, the lebo called Cuyunreva and Celdelo with its caciques.

Twenty-one caciques are named and the charter also "recommends"

⁸¹ Crescente Errázuriz, *Historia de la Iglesia Chilena*.

⁸² *Ibid.* A bishop's report of this date is printed as an appendix.

⁸³ Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, VIII. 452, IX. 17, 395, 397, 410, 412, 441. See also other grants of encomiendas cited in this paper.

⁸⁴ *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia*, p. 54.

all the other caciques, even if they be not named here, and all the chiefs and Indians subject to the said caciques, whether named or not, all being subject to the said lebo Cuyunreva . . . that they may serve you in conformity with royal commandments and ordinances.⁸⁵

Further, an effort was made to observe that old feudal ceremony by which a tenant became the man of his lord. In Santiago, in 1553, Juan Fernández de Alderete, vecino, presented to the *alcalde* the charter of an encomienda which he had received from Valdivia. Upon this there appeared two caciques who declared their villages and six other Indians who declared their villages and their caciques. Juan, in whose encomienda they were included, then asked for possession of them, and the *alcalde* took each one by the hand, saying he gave Juan possession of all the caciques, Indians and chiefs who, by his charter, pertained to him. Juan thereupon also took each of the Indians present by the hand, saying that he took possession on the terms stated by the *alcalde*.⁸⁶ This ceremony may often have been omitted but was frequent. The employment of the word possession was contrary to all feudal custom, yet the ceremony was evidently a reminiscence of feudal usage, as well as an attempt to secure for the new landlords the personal loyalty of their tenants through the representatives of these.

While the "recommended" Indians were bound to render certain services to their Spanish lords, they retained the right to unmolested occupation of their lands. García de Mendoza, legislating against abuses, forbade the seizure or occupation of the lands or cultivated plots of the Indians,

which thing more than any other disturbs and unsettles them and causes them to leave their native places so that these come to be depopulated.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, IX. 412.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, XIV. 28.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, XXIX. 416; cf., *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, in "Colección de Historiadores de Chile", I. 37.

But the virgin unsettled land of Chile, to this day very extensive, then covered vast stretches of cultivable soil. Don García therefore authorized the encomenderos to enlarge the sown area of the encomiendas, using their own ploughs but employing the Indians on sowing and harvesting, and he decreed that of the harvest of the land thus brought under cultivation one third should go to the Indians and two thirds to the Spanish landlord.⁸⁸

The services the "recommended" Indians owed to their encomenderos were at first undefined, so that these tenants had no safeguard beyond what mercifulness and wisdom their lords might have. Wisdom was against their exploitation, for there was always the danger of encouraging that trek to unsettled country which, soon after the conquest, had made a deficiency in the supply of agricultural labor in central Chile. Even in Peru the services due on encomiendas were indefinite until in 1537 Charles V. instructed the governor and the bishop to institute an inquiry in all the villages of friendly and "recommended" Indians. The numbers of the native population, the quality of their land, the duties they anciently rendered to their caciques, the duties they were rendering at the date of the inquiry and those they were, without oppression, able to render, were to be ascertained. In fact, a Domesday Book of Peru was to be compiled, and on its evidence the duties which might lawfully be exacted from the Indians were to be fixed. Subsequently, any encomendero who made larger exactions would be liable, for his first offense, to a fine four times the value of the excessive duty rendered to him, and for the second offense to deprivation of his encomienda and of half his other property.⁸⁹

Since Licentiate Gasca's commission to Valdivia empowered him to distribute encomiendas

⁸⁸ Medina, *op. cit.*, XXVIII. 353. The plan of reclaiming land by ceding it on some system of share-farming is still very common in Chile.

⁸⁹ Medina, *op. cit.*, XIV. 214.

as the Marqués, Don Francisco Pizarro, does and is able to do, by the authority received from his Majesty for the government granted to him,

the royal provision of 1537 was presumably binding on Valdivia in Chile as on Pizarro in Peru. But no attempt was made to draw up a Chilean Domesday Book until the governorship of García de Mendoza, whose father, the Marqués de Cañete, was viceroy of Peru. In a special authority which he received from his father to "recommend" Indians to Spaniards living in Chile, Don García was enjoined to inspect encomiendas before he thus conveyed them and to determine the services due on them. It is to his credit that he interpreted this as an injunction to fix for the whole province the duties which might be exacted from the Indians. Immediately after he received his commission and before he himself reached Chile, he despatched an official of the royal audiencia at Lima to inspect the territory which pertained to Santiago and to La Serena. The finding was that the Indians in the villages attached to these towns were too poor to pay any tribute, and were indeed in need of having seed distributed to them, year by year, by their encomenderos, who could therefore derive profit only from their labor. This was used especially for gold mining, and Don García authorized a set of regulations which conditioned Indian labor in the gold mines of Chile. Under these, which are said to have reduced the burdens of the Indians by about one half, only men between eighteen and fifty years old were liable, in the districts appurtenant to Santiago and La Serena, to employment as miners, and they were divided in each village into shifts of which certain worked in the mines nearest their homes while others remained in the villages. Every two months one shift in the mines was relieved by one from the village, and each shift remained in the mines for four successive months. No more than one-fifth of the population of a village might be employed in the mines at the same time. While he was in the mines, each man had the

right to a quart of wheat or maize a day and to salt and capsicum. The gold extracted was to be carried to the town every day and there divided. One-fifth belonged to the king, and of the rest one-sixth was to be put aside for the Indians and spent on buying necessities for them, especially sheep because they needed wool to weave clothes. The remainder, that is two-thirds of the total yield, went to the encomendero. In Santiago and La Serena two officials were specially appointed, one by the cabildo and one by the chief justice, to expend the Indians' one-sixth on their behalf, and the wool and other articles bought for them were ordered to be distributed among them according to the advice of the clergy in charge of their souls.⁹⁰

It was also ordained that Indians might extract gold for their own use, obviously when they were not rendering due service to their landlords,⁹¹ and that Spaniards might, if they chose, work the mines by negro labor,⁹² an expensive commodity which was beyond the reach of most Chilean landlords. Indians were not to be used for carrying loads in mines except where beasts of burden could not pass.⁹³

Other ordinances were made for the districts of the southern towns of Concepción, Imperial, Cañete, Valdivia, Osorno, and Villarica. In these it was forbidden that more than one-sixth of the working Indians in any encomienda should be taken for the mines, and it was provided that the chiefs should select such sixth, the native organization being thus once more respected. As in the more northern district, one-fifth of the gold extracted pertained to the king and one-sixth of the rest to the Indians.⁹⁴

Don García, that admirable young governor, after reporting to the council of the Indies the enactment of the Santiago and La Serena ordinances, added:

⁹⁰ Medina, *ibid.*, XXVIII. 355, XXIX. 146.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, II. 27.

⁹² *Ibid.*, XXVIII. 355.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, XXIX. 146.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, XXVIII. 294.

I am not satisfied that the order established is one which will entirely unburden his Majesty's conscience. The assessment is by sealed letter, for the number of Indians in each lordship (*repartimiento*) was not known and therefore has not been assessed. Even now the number of Indians each man holds is unknown, for it has been impossible to make a full and thorough inspection. We made the speediest possible inspection, and the best ordering and assessment at which it seemed possible to arrive, employing educated men who had experience in the matter.⁹⁵

Don García's work was partly undone by Francisco de Villagra, who reduced the Indian's sixth of the gold to one-eighth, and who allowed a larger proportion of them, including men over fifty, boys under fifteen, and even women, to go to the mines.⁹⁶ But Francisco's cousin and successor, Pedro de Villagra, not only reënacted Don García's ordinances, but also improved on them in the interests of native agriculture. Under Don García's scheme, a certain part of the adult male population of the Santiago and La Serena villages was in the mines for eight months in the year, although never for more than four months at a time. But Pedro de Villagra forbade that any Indians should ever be in the mines for more than half the year, or except during specified months which were the idlest of the farming year.⁹⁷ It is during the governorship of Don García that there is first mention in Chile of the official in every town called the protector of the Indians, but his duties were defined under Pedro de Villagra. He was a religious, a Franciscan or a nominee of the Franciscans, and he was bound to inspect every year all the encomiendas held by the vecinos of his town, and to report on them to the governor. He was charged to make that complete census of the "recommended" Indians for which Don García had lacked the time. His salary was fixed by the governor and chargeable half to the encomenderos and half to the fines of which they

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXVIII. 322.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, XXIX. 144, 416.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXX. 202; Amunátegui Solar, *Las Encomiendas de Indígenas*, I. 211.

were mulcted. Failing such fines the just treatment of the Indians was presumable, and half the protector's salary therefore became chargeable to the Indians' sixth share of the gold.⁹⁸

After Pedro de Villagra, the six months in the year for which he allowed Indians to be employed in the mines were increased by another governor, Rodrigo de Quiroga, to eight.⁹⁹ But Rodrigo was succeeded by Martín Ruíz de Gamboa who instituted new inspections of encomiendas and issued new ordinances for the protection of Indians. He confirmed a tendency to substitute the obligation to pay a fixed tribute for that to labor in certain conditions. Thus during his term of office, it was established that the encomienda of Macul near Santiago contained twenty-two Indians bound to pay tribute, namely each of them two gold pesos a year to the evangeliser in charge of their doctrina, and to their encomendero five gold pesos, together with wheat, barley, and maize worth two pesos, and fish, birds, and sheep of equal value.¹⁰⁰

Hereditary rights in encomiendas were doubtful in Chile. These holdings were at first customarily granted in America for two lives, and in Peru the grant was extended by Philip II. to a third life.¹⁰¹ As for the manner of succession, Charles V. enacted for Peru in 1537, and repeated his ruling several times, that when a vecino died his right in the Indians "recommended" to him passed to his legitimate sons, in order of age, failing them to his daughters similarly, and failing any legitimate children to his widow.¹⁰²

The provision seems to have been respected in Chile sometimes but not always. In 1554, the governor petitioned, on behalf of the several towns, that the vecinos might hold their encomiendas in perpetuity, to them their heirs and successors,

⁹⁸ Medina, *op. cit.*, XXIX. 293-298.

⁹⁹ Amunátegui Solar, *op. cit.*, I. 231.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 238 ff. *et seq.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁰² J. T. Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, XIV. 224, 238.

and the council of the Indies replied that fitting provision would be made in the matter.¹⁰³ A year later, there was another petition, asking that a legitimate son who was in the country when his father died might succeed to his father's *encomienda*;¹⁰⁴ and in 1564 yet another, which came from Confines, asked that *encomiendas* might be held in perpetuity or, failing this, that their late holders' debts might be paid out of them before they were regranted.¹⁰⁵ The fact probably was that an heir often had difficulty in making good his right if he were a minor, friendless, or not on the spot. That the danger of leaving *encomiendas* in weak keeping or vacant was realized is shown by the prohibition of absenteeism. When, in 1554, the council of the Indies was asked to allow the *encomenderos* of this remote province to be absent from their holdings for as much as four years, a time which would allow them to visit not only Peru but also Spain, a ruling was given that their leave might not exceed three years.¹⁰⁶

In central Chile, however, time tended to strengthen the hereditary nature of the tenure of *encomenderos*. In 1629, and again in 1654, the concession by which Philip II. had extended the normal duration of the grant of an *encomienda* from two to three lives was explicitly stated to apply to Chile as well as to Peru.¹⁰⁷ In practice, the most important *encomiendas* in central Chile remained in one family until they were abolished towards the end of the eighteenth century.

By an interesting custom, illustrative of the family solidarity which was characteristic of old Spain and was not superseded in Chile until the nineteenth century, the son who succeeded to his father's *encomienda* was bound to feed his mother, brothers, and sisters

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, XIII. 391, 394.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, XIX. 169.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, XXIX. 306.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, XIII. 395.

¹⁰⁷ Amunátegui Solar, *Las Encomiendas de Indígenas*, I. 73, 74.

in accordance with the quality of the persons, the quantity of the encomienda and their necessity.¹⁰⁸

III

THE CLASH OF THE TWO SYSTEMS

It is seen that the Spaniards, when they colonized Chile, did not merely settle the land, driving out before them the inhabitants they found in the areas they occupied, but attempted to absorb the native people into their polity, even to absorb the native society as they found it organized. They had thus a quite different conception of colonization from the peoples of northern Europe who settled in North America. The difference was due, in the first place, to the fact that the Spanish colonizers were not whole families seeking new homes, but individuals bent on carving out their fortunes. One Spanish woman only, the heroic Inés de Suárez, accompanied Pedro de Valdivia's first expedition, and although in later years some conquerors were followed to this distant land by their womenfolk, the settlement of the country was the work not of households but of single adventurers.

Secondly, it was a settlement on a most ambitious scale in relation to the number of the settlers. The followers of Pedro de Valdivia were limited by the smallness of the resources of which he disposed when he was recruiting in Peru for the Chilean expedition. "I sought loans among merchants", he wrote to the king,

and with what I had and the friends who helped me I raised as many as one hundred and fifty men, horse and foot, with whom I came to this land.¹⁰⁹

The number thus specified included all the Europeans and one negro who were in his force although not the Peruvian Indians who came with it. It was strengthened during the next twenty years, always from Peru, by companies of from forty to two

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 76.

¹⁰⁹ *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia*, p. 2.

hundred and fifty men. Altogether, Tomás Thayer Ojeda computes that about eleven hundred Spanish men reached Chile up to 1558, when García de Mendoza brought the unprecedentedly large force of three hundred and fifty with him, and rather more than two thousand up to 1565. If the mortality among the conquerors, who were perpetually fighting and peculiarly exposed to hardships and illness, be taken into account, and the fact that a certain number returned to Peru or Europe, the smallness of the force which conquered Chile for Spain will be realized. About 1570, more than seven hundred Spanish men are said to have died in the colony since the date of Valdivia's coming.¹¹⁰ A body of colonists having such dimensions could not establish a whole structure of civilization in this vast country, but could merely cast a network, woven in their own land, over the institutions they discovered.

Thirdly, the conquerors needed from the first a large supply of labor. Coming as they did from the soldier class of Spain, they were averse to toil. In the beginning, they were indeed sometimes obliged to work with their hands, but they regarded the necessity as unnatural, and were wont afterwards to cite what menial tasks they had accomplished as acts almost of heroism, which entitled them to special rewards but would have been demeaning had they not been exceptional. To labor constantly would have seemed to them unworthy, and often, when a man had to stand his trial or sought redress of a grievance, he would plead in his own favor that he had lived in Chile "like a knight and a person of quality". This characteristically Spanish conception belonged not only to the colonists of hidalgo birth but to all of them. It was not modified but emphasized in the new country, and to such a degree that it was censured by men lately arrived from Spain. An official criticized in a report dated 1605

¹¹⁰ Tomás Thayer Ojeda, *Los Conquistadores de Chile*, III. 171; *Ensayo Crítico*, p. 33.

the custom so much in force among the Spaniards [in Chile] of doing no work, not so much as lifting a stick except by the hands of the Indians.¹¹¹

If the colonists thus needed a supply of labor for tilling the soil, tending animals and carrying burdens, for building, weaving, and the practice of certain other essential crafts, and for the performance of domestic tasks, how much greater was their demand for it when there was question of mining! What Spaniard would undertake the painful toil of sifting or digging for precious metals? The gold yielded by Chile was small in quantity and of little profit to the Spaniards, and the silver they found there was negligible. Yet the whole economic organization which they introduced was based on the assumption that gold mining was the most important industry in the country. It took nearly a hundred years of disappointment to teach the colonists that it was more profitable to plough this land than to mine it. Meanwhile, they held it necessary to preserve the native population to dig in the mines. Since they were men of less fortune than the colonists of Peru, the number of negro slaves they could afford to import was small, negroes being expensive to buy and liable, in this temperate climate, to fall sick or die. They were therefore obliged to rely principally on the Indians for the work of gold mining.

Another and a strong impediment to the extermination of the Chilean Indians or their expulsion from the districts which the Spaniards settled was the fact that Spanish colonization had a real aspect as a missionary enterprise. The Spaniards did not only, like some other European colonizers, bring their creed and ritual, or even their ecclesiastical organization, into the new country for their own benefit. They aimed also at incorporating the native people of Chile in the Catholic Church. Obviously, the people had to be preserved if they were to be converted. Equally obviously, to the Spaniard of

¹¹¹ Quoted by Crescente Errázuriz in *Seis Años de la Historia de Chile*, II, 409.

that day, they had, when once they were baptized Christians, certain rights which commanded respect. The view of them as potential or recent converts operated further to protect them against injustice or cruelty because it was clear that if they were to be persuaded to the faith or confirmed in it they must not be alienated from those who practised it. This consideration was kept in mind by the authorities in Madrid who allowed the colonization and supported it. Both Charles V. and Philip II. gave it great weight. It influenced the clergy who came to Chile in the sixteenth century, especially the Dominicans and the Franciscans, the governors who, like García Hurtado de Mendoza, issued and endeavored to enforce ordinances limiting the exploitation of the Indians, and the more high-minded and less heedless of the rank and file of the conquerors.

The Spanish ideal was therefore not to drive the Indians out of settled Chile but to govern them in it, partly for the honor of Spain and the profit of Spain and the colonists, but also for their benefit since they were to be received into the Catholic Church and to be not enslaved or expropriated but protected. Their rights of property and their freedom were to be limited in return for the instruction and protection afforded them. Their native institutions were to be not eradicated but absorbed, with only necessary modifications, into the Spanish system.

In fact, the colonization of Chile was neither a mere adventure nor one of a series of adventures which built up, without plan, the overseas empire of Spain. It was pursued in accordance with a settled imperial policy. That its success was very incomplete was due, in the first place, to the human material at the disposal of this empire. Young, penniless men, eager to get rich in a hurry, great lovers of fighting, recklessly brave, arrogant, undisciplined, always ready to take risks, over-endowed with initiative: such were the typical conquerors of Chile, than whom no empire ever had servants more difficult to fit into a system.

It followed that the system was never fully applied, that the ordinances protecting the Indians were disregarded by unscrupulous or greedy, sometimes by cruel, men. They were originally designed to prevent abuses, of which they therefore prove the existence, and they could frequently be disobeyed with impunity since the class on whom they were binding, the *encomenderos*, formed one of the three sources of power in the country, the other two being the governor and the clergy. When the governor fulfilled his true function and represented the king his power was a check on the excesses of the *encomenderos*, but sometimes he was in sympathy with them and connived at their crimes. The regular clergy, particularly the Dominicans, were consistently and zealously on the side of the Indians, but when they were unsupported by the secular forces their influence was not generally effective in the sixteenth century. The Jesuits, who arrived in 1592, were able for a period, in virtue of their independence of all local authority and the strong royal backing on which they could depend, to force on the government of Chile a most liberal policy towards the Indians, but they came too late to make a success of the experiment of colonization. When, about 1570, it became clear that Chile was no *El Dorado* but a land of disappointment which had a population difficult to control, the *encomenderos*, who were rarely allowed to return home and were ceaselessly in debt and danger, degenerated into greater lawlessness. Without the government support which would have enabled them to keep the native population in order—the troops and the pay and equipment for troops which Spain, with other commitments, was increasingly unwilling to supply to an unprofitable colony—they were driven to desperate courses. All the weaknesses of the first settlers were emphasized in their second generation, who were brought up amid disorder and many of whom were of mixed blood.

But beyond the defects of the conquerors and their sons, the partial failure to settle this country was more fundamen-

tally the result of faulty procedure. Thus the excellent design to respect the social divisions of the native people was most inadequately fulfilled. When, for instance, a Spanish encomendero went through the ceremony, which has been described, of personally receiving the allegiance of representatives of the communities of Indians entrusted to him, these representatives seem to have been chosen haphazard. In all their efforts to incorporate the old organization the Spaniards were hampered by their vague knowledge of it. Not only did they often fail to deal with the most important chiefs when they formally received allegiance. The wording of many of the charters given by the governors was so vague or so erroneous that the estates they created must have cut across immemorial divisions, making endless uncertainty and unrest.

Pedro de Valdivia "recommended" to a vecino of Concepción

the caciques called Guaripanga and Guanolanque with all their heirs and all the chiefs and Indians subject to them, with fifteen hundred Indians dependent on them, who have their land and seat on this side of the River Nivequeten, and if they have not the said number of Indians you will complete it from the nearest Indians.¹¹²

Another governor recommended "the cacique named Caloande or Moyande or Alcande, whether all these names refer to one person or two".¹¹³ In yet another charter the word "lebo" is used for the chief of a lebo, the "recommendation" being of

the lebo Millarepe, by this name or another, with all his caciques and the Indians and chiefs who are subject to him and who are of his factions and drink with him, whose land and seat adjoin the lebos of Colocolo, of Quiapeo and of Lebapi and the seacoast.¹¹⁴

Francisco de Villagra "recommended" a named cava with five named caciques

¹¹² Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, IX. 17.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, XV. 217.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, X. 290.

of the said cava, whether they all belong to the said cava or to another cava, with their Indians and subjects, so long as this be without prejudice to any other encomienda I have already made.¹¹⁵

Such charters, granted by ignorant, practical men in a hurry, left much scope both for disastrous mistakes and for deliberate abuses. In Indian society they must have caused confusion which was really grievous and was calculated to render odious the Spanish overlordship.

There was moreover an institution of Spanish colonial land tenure which was an outcome of the dependence of Spaniards on servants and was peculiarly liable to abuse. A contemporary and anonymous narrative relates that when Pizarro distributed the Indians about Cuzco in encomiendas, certain of them who dwelt near the town were given to the Spaniards for their personal service. "Thence", says the narrator,

arose in these realms that plague of personal service which costs so dear to the bodies and souls of those who serve and those who are served. The custom was brought from Tierra Firme¹¹⁶ and the islands and from Nicaragua and New Spain,¹¹⁷ where it is much followed.¹¹⁸

In accordance with this custom, very many charters of Chilean governors after they had "recommended", on the terms which have been examined, certain Indians to Spanish lords, made a further grant.

"Furthermore", says a charter given by Pedro de Valdivia to a vecino of Concepción,

I recommend to you the cacique called Guntayabi with all the Indians and chiefs subject to him, for the service of your house.¹¹⁹

Such a clause sometimes specified a large number of Indians whom it affected, in one instance

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXIX. 152.

¹¹⁶ The northern part of the territory afterwards Colombia.

¹¹⁷ Venezuela and the Spanish possessions north of the Isthmus.

¹¹⁸ Medina, *op. cit.*, VII. 433.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, IX. 395.

the chief called Navaljineno with the eighty houses he has and their Indians, that they all may serve you, conformably to the royal mandates;¹²⁰

in another, certain chiefs

with all their Indians and subjects and with the three hundred and eighty-eight houses which they seem to have . . . and with six thousand Indians who must serve you in the town of Imperial.¹²¹

It was Indian families thus granted "for the service of houses" whose members were brought into the towns to be servants to the colonists and who cultivated the plots in the towns and the *estancias* or farms near them. It was these Indians who often followed useful handicrafts. "I have hired to Francisco Valenciano, carpenter", wrote Valdivia's widow in her will dated at Santiago,

three Indians who are carpenters and they have served him for three or four years. . . . Gabilan has one of my Indians, a mason, hired to him for a year for thirty-five pesos. . . . Captain Francisco Gutiérrez de Valdivia, out of respect for kinship, gave me many Indians of his encomienda to serve me for some time, namely, Juan, the carpenter, Juan and Juan, masons, Francisco, the shoemaker, Hernando, the weaver and carpenter, Antonio and others, all of the encomienda of the said Captain Francisco de Valdivia.

It was these Indians also who acted as porters, for instance carrying goods between Santiago and the port of Valparaíso. And it was they who did the frequent work of building.

Some of the evidence regarding these serving Indians is obscure. Where, as by the quoted charter to a vecino of Concepción, large native communities were granted to a Spaniard for his personal service, the intention must have been that he should use as many of them as he pleased for such labor as he found profitable. Charters of this kind not only transgressed the true principles of Spanish colonial policy but

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, XIII. 341.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, XIV. 222.

were also an abuse of the custom of allotting Indians to personal service, and they occur most often in the south of Chile, where their effects in law, if not in practice, were defeated by an ordinance of García de Mendoza that no encomendero might exact labor from more than one-fifth of the Indians on his encomienda, this fraction to include the one-sixth he might employ in the mines.¹²² In the normal instances of personal service, such as those found in Santiago, the Spaniards appear to have exercised a right to bring into the towns and onto their farms, to serve them, some Indians from that part of their encomiendas which had been specially assigned to the "service of their houses". Don García's ordinances ruled for Santiago and La Serena that every such Indian should receive certain garments every year, the sowers one whole cotton garment; the harvesters a *manta*;¹²³ the carters, the neatherds, the vineyard workers, and the household menservants one entire garments as well as two pigs and a goat; and the women household servants one cotton dress. All Indians serving on farms or in the towns had also, like those in the mines, the right to a quart of wheat or maize and to salt or capsicum every day. For the south Don García enacted that every Indian giving personal service must receive this daily allowance and also a cotton or linen garment every year. The encomendero who disobeyed the ordinances protecting "recommended" Indians, whether those who worked in the mines or those who served otherwise, was liable for his first offense to forfeiture of one year's income and service from his encomienda, for his second offense to forfeiture of the encomienda itself.¹²⁴

But the practice among encomenderos of exacting large and indefinite duties from the Indians "recommended" to

¹²² *Ibid.*, XVIII. 297.

¹²³ That is, a sleeveless cloak, made of a woven square of wool in which the weaver has left a slit through which the head passes. A *poncho* is on the same pattern but longer, reaching to the knees, while the *manta* reaches only to the waist.

¹²⁴ Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*.

them for their personal service was never successfully checked. Personal service was so easily perverted to such a real slavery as transgressed both the precepts of the Spanish government¹²⁵ and the injunctions of the Church in America, and was so bitterly resented by the Indians themselves, was such a powerful cause of disaffection among them, that it was repeatedly censured by the clergy and modified by the best governors. One of these, Martín Ruíz de Gamboa, abolished it in 1580. At once the encomenderos used every underhand and open means to undo this loss of their valuable privilege, and a few years later they succeeded in having personal service restored by Alonso de Sotomayor,¹²⁶ a governor who was both far less acquainted with conditions in Chile and far less mercifully inclined toward the Indians than Martín Ruíz.

The liability to personal service was especially irksome to the Indians because it interfered with their family life on which, as has been seen, the whole organization of their society rested ultimately. The other duties to which "recommended" Indians were bound, for instance, work in the mines, also interrupted the domestic routine, but not continuously unless the ordinances were infringed. An Indian living in south Chile, after this district had thrown off the Spanish domination, told Núñez de Pineda that his people would have borne all the burdens placed on them had the Spaniards but left in peace our wives, our children, and our houses, that our women might care for us and guard the little we possessed.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ How clearly the "recommendation" of Indians for personal service was, as it was practised, a perversion, appears from a capitulary of Charles V., dated 1527, in which he orders that "if the said justices . . . find that any of our subjects or anyone else has taken Indians from their lands or native places, unjustly or unduly, they shall deprive those subjects or others of their power, and if such Indians desire it they shall cause them to return to their lands and native places, if this can well and conveniently be done, and if it cannot . . . they shall place them in that liberty or encomienda in which reasonably and justly they may". See Medina, *op. cit.*, IV. 133.

¹²⁶ Crescente Errázuriz, *Iglesia Chilena*, pp. 309, 340-342, 354-355.

¹²⁷ Núñez de Pineda, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

It was the carelessness to observe the old social divisions of the people and the exaction from them of personal service which were the two unsurmountable obstacles to the real assimilation of the Indians of Chile by the Spanish colony.

In the south, the district beyond the River Biobio, the failure to establish the colony permanently was complete. There the Spaniards, who had not won the willing allegiance of the people, had not enough troops and material resources at their command to maintain their rule by force, and they were swept north of the Biobio by a revolt of the southern Indians in the last years of the sixteenth century. Thereafter they held beyond that river only the fort of Chillan and a few other strong places, together with Castro in the remote island of Chiloe. South Chile was not again subjected, in any but a formal sense, to the same government as central Chile until the eighties of last century. The southern people resumed their former way of life, hardly modified, proving both how deeply rooted were their institutions and how superficial had been the Spanish hold on their country.

Central Chile, with its well settled towns of Santiago and La Serena, its harbor village of Valparaiso, and Concepción, a dangerous place on the Indian frontier, remained a colony of Spain. The resources of the colonists, and the troops, munitions, and officials sent them from Peru and Spain, sufficed to keep the Indians within this colony in check, to hold the frontier, and to drive back the two serious Indian incursions from the south which happened in 1655 and 1723. Yet in the center, as in the south, the Spanish imperial policy, which was one not of destruction but of absorption, failed to be realized.

By disease, chastisements, flights to the free south, and disorderly living, the old Indian villages were emptied. Of *encomiendas* which had once contained two or three thousand Indians, none, says a report of 1610, then included more than a hundred and most only forty, fifty, or sixty.¹²⁸ An *encomi-*

¹²⁸ Claudio Gay, *Documentos*, II. 197.

enda of fifteen hundred Indians, granted by Pedro de Valdivia to Inés de Suárez in 1546, contained only eight hundred in 1579, only one hundred, of whom no more than a quarter acknowledged the obligation to serve, in 1739.¹²⁹ This rate of decrease seems to have been normal.

These "recommended" Indians no longer sufficed for the work of cultivation, and at the opening of the seventeenth century complaints of a deficiency in the supply of agricultural labor grew frequent. Then gradually a new laboring class was formed. It was made up partly of descendants of Indians of "recommended" villages who had been forced, bribed, or persuaded to forego their old homes and status, largely of the descendants of Indians "recommended" for personal service and of Indians who had, more or less willingly, hired themselves to service, partly of Indians captured and enslaved during the war with south Chile, which was more or less constantly waged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and of their offspring, partly of Indians bought in their youth from their fathers. These elements were fused to form the class known as the *inquilinos*, on whom, more and more, the labor fell of cultivating the farms of central Chile, and who cultivate them to this day.

The *inquilinos* were distinguished from the Indians of the "recommended" villages because they lived on their masters' *estancias*. They were not men without rights. Ordinances issued in 1620 for the protection of Indians ruled that

the natives living on a farm, and known in Chile as *inquilinos*, shall be obliged to labor on the works of the farm for one hundred and sixty days in the year. The master of the farm shall, for his part, be obliged to allow them for all the time for which they are in his service a piece of land in which they can sow one *almud*¹³⁰ of maize, two of barley and two of wheat or another crop, and he must lend them the

¹²⁹ Amunátegui Solar, "Apuntaciones y Documentos" (being appendix to *Las Encomiendas de Indígenas*), p. 25.

¹³⁰ The weight of the Spanish *almud* varies so much locally that its value in this context cannot be definitely fixed.

oxen and implements they need for their cultivation. For every day for which they work for him they must receive one *real*,¹³¹ the tribute being deducted, and also, in the year, one garment of the country and one pair of stuff (*cordellate*) breeches, as well as fruits of the farm if there be enough of these. Women and children shall not be obliged to work. The master shall appoint one man out of every four *inquilinos* to be head.

The tribute which could be deducted from pay was presumably the ten and a half pesos a year due at this time from "recommended" Indians, in lieu of the obligation to work in the mines which became meaningless when, in this century, gold mining almost ceased. Eight pesos of this tribute went to the landlord, one and a half to the *doctrina* and the remaining one to the king's officials. The *inquilinos* were, like the "recommended" Indians, *adscripti glebae*.¹³²

The importance of the *inquilinos* grew as the villages of "recommended" Indians fell increasingly into decay, and as Chile, abandoning gold mining, became a land of thriving agriculture. Farmers poached on the population of the villages in order to obtain more *inquilinos*, and thus they helped their decline. "Although of old there must have been numerous Indian villages", says a report of 1707,

in some of which *doctrinas* were established and parish churches, however humble, were built for the resort of Spaniards and Indians, today, owing to the great depopulation of the Indian villages, there are neither curates in the places where the churches were built nor a quarter of the Indians who, the old people say, were there forty years ago.¹³³

Half a century later, according to another report, only some fifty *encomiendas* survived in the whole colony; four of them included from eight to one hundred and twenty men but the

¹³¹ The *real* was a silver coin of irregular shape, very current in the colony and worth about 12 centavos—in fact, a silver penny.

¹³² Amunátegui Solar, *Las Encomiendas de Indígenas*, I. 421.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, II. 206.

majority less than twenty; and they were diminishing every day.¹³⁴

It was the institution of "recommended" Indians in extreme decay, for which reason Amunátegui Solar, usually a judicious historian, must be accused of exaggerating when he calls the abolition of *encomiendas* by Governor Ambrose O'Higgins in 1789 a cause of the Chilean revolution.¹³⁵ The *encomiendas* had almost died away before they were abolished. Their decadence was that of one of the most important colonial institutions and therefore part of the bankruptcy of the colony as a social system. It was a symptom but it was not a cause. O'Higgins's decree left the great body of the rural laborers of Chile where it found them, *inquilinos* settled on the farms.

The Indians who lingered in their old villages after their obligations as *encomendados* had been removed became ever fewer and fewer. In one recorded instance, however, such a village continued a living society into the nineteenth century. This was Chinigue of which the people, under the cacique Carlos Tello and his son Andrea, were so tenacious of their ancient right to their holdings that for thirty years they resisted the efforts of their landlord and the government officials to dislodge them.¹³⁶ When in 1813 their eviction was at last accomplished, the Indians of central Chile lost the last vestige of the polity they had inherited from their fathers. The attempt of the sixteenth century Spanish imperialists to absorb the native institutions of Chile in the colonial system had finally collapsed.

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London, England.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 238-244.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 259. "La abolición de las *encomiendas* . . . contribuyó . . . a desinteresar a muchas familias ricas del mantenimiento del gobierno español".

¹³⁶ Amunátegui Solar, *Mayorazgos i Títulos de Castilla*, III. Appendix.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS'S POLICY WITH RESPECT TO AN AMERICAN CONFEDERATION AND THE PANAMA CONGRESS, 1822-1825¹

THE SPANISH AMERICAN FEDERATIVE TREATIES AND PROPOSALS FOR A CONGRESS OF AMERICAN PLENIPOTENTIARIES

The first positive action that was designed to put into effect the ever-growing idea of a union or confederation of the states of Hispanic America was taken by Colombia. Under the leadership of Simón Bolívar that republic, soon after its independence had been established, invited other republics of the continent to enter into treaties of "union, association and perpetual confederation".² For this purpose, Joaquín Mosquera, a senator of Colombia, was despatched in the fall of 1821 to the republics of Peru, Chile, and Buenos Aires. At the same time Miguel Santamaría was despatched on a similar mission to Mexico.³ Two and a half years later—in April, 1824—the government of the newly established provinces of Central America despatched Pedro Molina to the southern republics for the purpose of "forming by the bonds of alliance and amity a single political whole", that thereby "the just cause of . . . Independence" might be "unconquerable".⁴ The Central American project, although independent of that of Bolívar, was altogether in accord with it.

The outcome of the above-mentioned diplomatic missions and the character of the treaties negotiated are summed up by Dr. Alvarez as follows:

¹ Historical study presented to the Pan American Congress held in the City of Panama in June, 1926.

² A. Alvarez, *The Monroe Doctrine: its Importance in the International Life of the States of the New World* (Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, New York, 1924), p. 12.

³ R. F. Arragon, "The Congress of Panamá" (Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, MS.), p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

. . . Treaties were concluded by Colombia with Chile, October 21, 1822, with Peru, July 6 of the same year, with the Governments of Buenos Aires and Mexico March 8 and October 3, 1823, respectively, and with Central America March 15, 1824. In those treaties it is stated that the parties bind themselves to use their good offices with the governments of the other states of what was formerly Spanish America to enter into a pact of union, association, and confederation. It is stipulated, moreover, that as soon as this great and important object has been attained, there will be a general assembly of all the American States, composed of their plenipotentiaries, for the purpose of cementing and establishing more firmly the intimate relations which should exist among them. This assembly should serve as a council in serious disputes, as a point of contact in common danger, as an authentic interpreter of their public treaties when difficulties arise, and as judge-arbitrator and conciliator in their misunderstandings and differences.⁵

The despatch of Mosquera and Santamaría on their respective diplomatic missions constituted the first definite step that led ultimately to the meeting of the congress of Panama in 1826. That is a very significant fact. Scarcely less significant is the further fact that the United States government received its first intimations of the proposals for a congress of plenipotentiaries through reports from its diplomatic agents in South America concerning the negotiation of the above-mentioned treaties. Moreover, Secretary of State Adams, on the basis of these reports formulated a tentative friendly policy of watchful waiting with respect to the congress over a year before the United States was asked if it would be willing to "enter into a Treaty of Alliance with the Republic of Colombia, to save America in general from the calamities" of the "despotic system" of the holy alliance,⁶

⁵ Alvarez, *op. cit.*, p. 12. Extracts of this treaty are in *ibid.*, pp. 135-141; also in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. (Washington, 1858), Appendix.

⁶ Salazar to Adams, Washington, July 2, 1824, in William R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations*, 3 vols. (Washington, 1925), II. 1280. The genesis of

and two and one-half years before the Colombian and Mexican ministers at Washington informally inquired whether the United States "would, if invited . . . be represented at Panama".⁷

the epochal book just cited is interesting. In May, 1916, the distinguished Chilean publicist, Dr. Alejandro Álvarez, made a suggestion to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which has only recently fructified most satisfactorily. Dr. Álvarez's suggestion was that the Carnegie Endowment "would accomplish something of far-reaching effect, of scientific results and Pan-American approximation", if it "should solicit the acquiescence of the Government of the United States" for the publication of certain documents in the files of the department of state and if it "should decide to pay the expenses which the printing of all such documents should demand". Dr. Álvarez explained that in the files of the department of state "there is a considerable quantity of material for the diplomatic, political and economic history of Latin America", and that while many of the documents in question have been published in *American State Papers*, *Foreign Relations*, a great portion of them were still unpublished and therefore were "unknown to historians". These documents were described by Dr. Álvarez as "the foreign papers or papers of a diplomatic character . . . as well as the correspondence of the statesmen who then had the honor of conducting the foreign relations" of the United States which relate "to the glorious period of the emancipation of the Latin-American nations". More specifically Dr. Álvarez described the documents referred to as "all those between 1810, in which the emancipation movement of the old Spanish colonies was initiated, and 1830, the date of the dissolution of Great Colombia. . . ." (Memorandum of Dr. Álvarez, *q.v.*, in Manning, *op. cit.*, I. vii). Dr. Álvarez's suggestion was acted upon favorably by the executive committee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The necessary permission was secured from the department of state and Dr. William R. Manning, then professor of Latin-American History in the University of Texas, but now on the staff of the division of Latin-American affairs of the department of state, was engaged "to select and arrange" for publication "the official correspondence and documents of the United States concerning the emancipation of the Latin-American countries". In Dr. Manning's volumes there are many references to the confederation of American nations and the congress of Panama, and as a result it has been possible for the first time to write from printed state papers upon the subject of John Quincy Adams's policy with respect to both the American confederation and the Panama congress.

⁷ These informal inquiries were made in the spring of 1825. See Clay to Anderson, in Manning, *op. cit.*, I. 252-253.

PREVOST FROM CHILE ADVISES SECRETARY OF STATE ADAMS OF THE
SPANISH AMERICAN PLANS

What appears to have been the earliest, and what was at the same time a most optimistic and sympathetic report to the department of state with reference to the Colombian proposals for a congress of plenipotentiaries was made by John B. Prevost, special agent of the United States to Chile, Peru, and Buenos Aires. In a letter addressed to Secretary Adams and dated at Santiago, Chile, November 15, 1822, Prevost advised as follows:

The Disposition to resist European Influence under any shape daily acquires strength and I am sincerely gratified to find that such also is the decided policy of Colombia—The agent appointed by that Government to conclude Treaties of alliance offensive and defensive with Peru and Chile, has added a Pledge from each of the contracting Parties to send Deputies to the Isthmus within a limited time for the double purpose of effecting a Union in support of a representative System throughout and of preventing partial associations with any one of the Powers of Europe—An Agent has gone to Mexico with the same object and it is in contemplation as soon as the several Treaties shall be ratified by Colombia to invite a representative of the U. States to preside at a meeting intended to assimilate the Politics of the South with those of the North—I know not Sir what may be the feelings of the President upon such an application, but if it can be realized and the effect produced which I anticipate from the measure I shall regard it as one of the most interesting events of the present age—America will then exhibit to the world the proud Spectacle of an association for the exaltation of man, while in Europe they are forming compacts solely for his Degradation.⁸

Such was the whole-hearted endorsement by Prevost of the plan for the congress of Panama. In the concluding sentence, quoted above, Prevost gave utterance to an ideal altogether Bolivarian in character. Mr. Prevost, however, did not stop with endorsing the plan for a congress of plenipo-

⁸ Prevost to Adams, Santiago, Chile, November 15, 1822, in Manning, *op. cit.*, I. 1071.

tentiaries. He also gave hearty approval to the federative system contemplated in the treaties then being negotiated and expressed the belief that the proposed alliance would have a deterrent effect upon possible aggressions from Europe. This is clearly shown in the following excerpt from a letter to Secretary Adams written in the latter part of November, 1822:

The Deputy from Colombia [Mosquera] leaves this in a few Days for Bs. Ays. in order to conclude a like treaty of Alliance with those in rule there—He must succeed, however secretly indisposed they may be to the federative System contemplated and I think the General Union when known in Europe will tend to deter any one Power from further Intrigues in that quarter.⁹

Still later, on December 14, 1822, and after he had seen the proposed treaty between Colombia and Chile, Prevost advised Adams that

It embraces in the most express terms the several objects to which I then (November 28, 1822) alluded, together with a stipulation not to enter into partial arrangements with Spain and not to listen to overtures on her part unaccompanied with an acknowledgement of the Independence of all.¹⁰

FORBES REPORTS TO SECRETARY ADAMS FROM BUENOS AIRES

The next report which the department of state received concerning the proposal for a congress at Panama came from Buenos Aires. This report, in contradistinction to the ones received earlier from Mr. Prevost, was not optimistic concerning the proposed general congress of plenipotentiaries.

Señor Mosquera arrived at Buenos Aires on January 21, 1823. There he found that the government, of which Bernardino Rivadavia was the foreign secretary, was little inclined to embrace Bolívar's plan for a federation. Rivadavia gave as an excuse for this the non-existence of any national gov-

⁹ Prevost to Adams, Santiago, Chile, November 28, 1822, in Manning, *op. cit.*, II. 1073.

¹⁰ Prevost to Adams, Santiago, Chile, December 14, 1822, in Manning, *op. cit.*, II. 1074.

ernment of the La Platan provinces. Rivadavia's real objection to the plan, however, was that he was skeptical of treaties of alliance in general and of the Bolivarian project in particular.¹¹ Finally, however, after having rejected certain counter-proposals of Rivadavia, Mosquera concluded a treaty with Buenos Aires on March 8, 1823. This treaty has been characterized as

not an alliance, but a declaration of good will and a promise of future coöperation—merely a preliminary to federation.¹²

Six days after Mosquera reached Buenos Aires that fact was communicated to Secretary Adams in a letter from John M. Forbes, secretary of the United States legation at Buenos Aires. Forbes's letter has not been available but Secretary Adams, writing subsequently thereto, stated that Mosquera had advised Forbes that the general object of his mission

was to engage the other Independent Governments of *Spanish America* to unite with Colombia in a congress to be held at such point as might be agreed upon, to settle a general system of *American Policy*, in relation to Europe, leaving to each section of the Country, the perfect liberty of Independent self Government. For this purpose he had already signed a Treaty with Peru, of which he promised Mr. Forbes the perusal.¹³

From Forbes's report, Secretary Adams was led to believe that Señor Mosquera had encountered difficulties in Buenos Aires which gave slight promise of being overcome. This is clearly shown by the following excerpt from a contemporary writing of Secretary Adams:

¹¹ Arragon, *op. cit.*, p. 17. In the session of June 9, 1823, of the Junta de Representantes de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, Rivadavia said: "It is necessary to stay within the representative system in the general and reciprocal interests of one state in relation to another and not in family alliances". See Mitre, *San Martín*, IV. 58 (quoted by Arragon).

¹² Arragon, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

¹³ "General instructions of John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, to Caesar A. Rodney, appointed United States Minister to Buenos Aires", Washington, May 17, 1823, in Manning, *op. cit.*, I. 188.

. . . But there was some doubt with regard to the character of his associations; and the personal influence to which he was accessible at Buenos Aires, and Mr. Forbes, had not much expectation of his success in prevailing on that Government to enter into his project of extensive federation.¹⁴

TODD ADVISES SECRETARY ADAMS OF DEVELOPMENTS
IN COLOMBIA

At about the time that Mr. Forbes predicted the probable failure of the Mosquera mission to Buenos Aires, Mr. Charles Todd, confidential agent of the United States at Bogotá, acquired very important information of an international character from Dr. Gual, Colombian minister for foreign affairs. This information, which he promptly sent on to Adams, related to the proposed federative treaties between Colombia, Peru, Chile, and Buenos Aires; to the proposals for a congress of plenipotentiaries and the attitude of Colombia toward participation by the United States in it; and what is of unique interest, to proposals for a more pretentious defensive confederacy than had originally been proposed by Colombia—one that would not only embrace all of the Americas, but also the liberal constituted governments that had been set up in Portugal and Spain in 1820.

As regards the proposed federative treaties and the congress of plenipotentiaries, Todd advised Adams, in a letter dated at Bogotá, March 6, 1823, that Dr. Gual had informed him that

. . . the Treaties with Peru and Chile . . . were almost Alliances . . . that they were of a political character and would not embarrass the negotiations for commercial arrangements with the U. States, nor preclude our commerce from the advantages of the most favored nation; that these Treaties developed the Continental policy of America, and when published, would produce much discussion in the U. States as to the course we should adopt; that the different Governments in Spanish America (*Colombia, Peru, Chili & B. Ayres*), had agreed

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

to meet and confer together on their General Interests, somewhat on the plan of the Holy Alliance and it would be a question with the U. States to unite or not as she may deem proper.¹⁵

Mr. Todd was also informed by Dr. Gual that Dr. José María Salazar, Colombian minister to the United States, had been furnished a copy of the proposed treaties "to be used as occasion might require".¹⁶

Concerning the proposals for an extended confederation—one that would be partly American and partly European—Adams later wrote as follows:

Dr. Gual told Mr. Todd that proposals had been made by the Portuguese Government at Lisbon, to Colombia, for a general confederacy of all America, North and South, together with the Constitutional Governments of *Portugal* and Spain, as a counterpoise to the European *Holy Alliance*; but he said they had been rejected on account of their *European aspect*.¹⁷

Further information concerning the character of the confederation which it was proposed to establish at Panama is contained in a letter from Todd to Adams, dated Bogotá, May 8, 1823. In this letter Mr. Todd said:

. . . The Secretary of Foreign Relations developed the leading principles introduced into the Treaties with Peru and Chile, destined to constitute the bases of the new Amphyctionic Council at Panama, the citizens of each Government in the Confederacy to enjoy in the ports

¹⁵ Todd to Adams, in Manning, *op. cit.*, II. 1245. Writing later with reference to the conversations between Gual and Todd, Adams said: "In the conferences between Dr. Gual and Mr. Todd, the Colombian Minister of Foreign Affairs has spoken of treaties, *almost* treaties of alliance, concluded by the Colombian plenipotentiary, Mosquera, with the Governments of Peru and Chile, and which he expected would also be shortly concluded with Buenos Ayres. The purport of these treaties was mentioned by Dr. Gual only in general terms, but he said that Mr. Salazar would be authorized to communicate copies of them to this Government, and eventually to propose that the United States should accede to them, or take a part in the system which it was their purpose to originate". See "Adams to Richard C. Anderson, appointed United States Minister to Colombia", Washington, May 27, 1823, in Manning, *op. cit.*, I. 204.

¹⁶ Todd to Adams, in Manning, *op. cit.*, II. 1245.

¹⁷ Adams to Anderson, in Manning, *op. cit.*, I. 204-205.

and territories of the other, all the rights and privileges of citizens of the respective countries in which they may sojourn.—This Council will have no political power to bind the several states, each being sovereign as to all external and internal affairs—the object seems to be confined merely to a Conference, by which the views and interests of all may be understood and concentrated.¹⁸

Finally, in the middle of 1824, Todd reported that Acting President Santander had expressed apprehension that “the Holy Alliance would, after regulating Spain, aid her in subduing” Colombia and that the French would attack ports and islands of the Caribbean “in the name of Ferdinand, after he should be restored to his former prerogative”. This apprehension was the basis for President Santander making inquiry as to

Whether the U. States would be willing to unite in a Continental Confederacy against Europe, of constitutional against anticonstitutional Governments.

To this inquiry, Todd reported that he had replied

that the U. States did not enquire into, or interfere in, the right of the people of every Government to make their own Constitutions; though they would prefer that in all America particularly, they should be Republican but that if Mexico, Brazil or Peru preferred a settled Monarchy, we should still feel it our interest to unite in support of constitutional Government in America against the designs of the Holy Alliance of Europe and that, for my part, I believed in a few years, all America would have to contend against them.¹⁹

SECRETARY ADAMS'S INSTRUCTIONS TO UNITED STATES MINISTER
RODNEY AT BUENOS AIRES

Such was the official information, in whole or in part, which the United States Department of State received prior to the

¹⁸ Todd to Adams, in Manning, *op. cit.*, II. 1251-1252.

¹⁹ “Substance of a conference between Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, and Francisco Paula Santander, Vice-President and Acting President of Colombia, June 16, 1823”, in Manning, *op. cit.*, II. 1262-1263.

mid-summer of 1824 concerning the proposed federative treaties between Colombia, Peru, Chile, and Buenos Aires; the plans for the meeting of a congress of plenipotentiaries of the American nations; and the likelihood that the United States would be invited to participate in that congress. Thus Adams had had occasion to give serious consideration to the several above-noted developments and proposals of an international character. As a result he had formulated a tentative policy that foreshadowed the course of action which later he pursued with respect to the Colombian suggestions for a treaty of alliance, and also his subsequent policy toward the participation of the United States in a congress of plenipotentiaries. This early policy of Secretary Adams was first set forth in his general instructions to Caesar A. Rodney, at the time of his appointment as United States minister to Buenos Aires in May, 1823. These instructions, which were drafted shortly after Adams had received the above-cited information from Prevost, Forbes, and Todd is as follows:

It will be time for this Government to deliberate concerning it, when it shall be presented [the invitation to join the federation] in a more definite and specific form. At present it indicates more distinctly a purpose on the part of the Colombian Republic to assume a leading character in this Hemisphere, than any practicable object of utility which can be discerned by us. With relation to *Europe* there is perceived to be only one object, in which the interests and wishes of the United States can be the same as those of the Southern American Nations, and that is that they should all be governed by Republican Institutions politically and commercially independent of Europe. To any confederation of Spanish American provinces for that end, the United States would yield their approbation, and cordial good wishes. If more should be asked of them, the proposition will be received, and considered in a friendly spirit, and with a due sense of its importance. . . .

So far as objects of Policy can be distinctly perceived at this distance, with the information which we possess, and upon a subject so complicated in itself, so confused by incidents with which it is sur-

rounded, and so comprehensive in its extent, the political interest of Buenos Ayres, rather points to the settlement of its concerns altogether internal, or in its immediate neighbourhood, than to a confederation embracing the whole American Hemisphere.²⁰

SECRETARY ADAMS'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MINISTER ANDERSON
AT BOGOTA

Ten days after he had written the above-cited instructions for the United States minister to Buenos Aires, Adams drafted instructions²¹ for Richard C. Anderson, who had been appointed United States minister to Colombia. In view of the indifference with which Adams knew that Buenos Aires had regarded the proposed federative treaties, and in view of the fact that the idea of these treaties had originated at Bogotá, it is not surprising that he should have given to Minister Anderson more definite and explicit instructions concerning the various proposals that had been made for a confederation and a congress than he had given to the new minister to Buenos Aires.

Adams first advised Anderson concerning the Portuguese proposal for a confederation that would embrace all of the Americas and the constitutional governments of Portugal and Spain. The secretary's comments, which are of great interest because they indicate both his political philosophy and his attitude toward the matter in question, follow:

Loose and indefinite projects of the same kind (namely, "a general confederacy of all America . . . together with the Constitutional Governments of Portugal and Spain") have been presented by the present Portuguese Government to us, but they have never been considered even as objects of deliberation. Brazil has declared its own independence of Portugal, and constituted itself into an Empire, with an Emperor at its head. General Le Cor has lost the real command

²⁰ "General instructions of John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, to Caesar A. Rodney, appointed United States Minister to Buenos Aires," Washington, May 17, 1823, in Manning, *op. cit.*, I. 189.

²¹ Adams to Anderson, Washington, May 27, 1823, in Manning, *op. cit.*, I. 192-208.

of his own army, and has been or cannot fail shortly to be, compelled to embark, with all his European Portuguese troops, for Lisbon. Then will come the question between Buenos Aires and Brazil, for Montevideo and the Oriental Band of La Plata,²² and then will soon be seen that the Republican Hemisphere will endure neither Emperor nor King upon its shores.

Of this mighty movement in human affairs, mightier far than that of the downfall of the Roman Empire, the United States may continue to be, as they have been hitherto, the tranquil but deeply attentive spectators. They *may*, also, in the various vicissitudes by which it must be followed, be called to assume a more active and leading part in its progress. Floating, undigested purposes of this great American confederation have been for some time fermenting in the imaginations of many speculative statesmen; nor is the idea to be disdainfully rejected because its magnitude may appal the understanding of politicians accustomed to the more minute but more complicated machinery of a contracted political standard.²³

Thus did Secretary Adams, over six months before the Monroe Doctrine specifically deny the right of Europe to extend its "political system" to the western hemisphere, unequivocally disavow as unworthy of consideration a project for a confederation that was partly European and partly American in character. It is equally interesting that in this connection Secretary Adams took occasion to predict the ultimate triumph of republicanism in the western hemisphere—a prediction that was soon realized as regards Mexico but was deferred in Brazil, due to the personal popularity of Dom Pedro II., until less than thirty-five years ago.

As regards the proposed Colombian confederacy, Adams bestowed upon it the unqualified blessings of the United States regardless of whether its object should be to form a defensive alliance against Europe or to create a real federation "from the wreck of Spanish power in America". A non-committal policy was adopted as regards the participation of the United

²² Modern Uruguay was known as La Banda Oriental del Uruguay.

²³ Adams to Anderson, Washington, May 27, 1823, in Manning, *op. cit.*, I. 205.

States in the proposed congress of plenipotentiaries. Secretary Adams's highly significant instructions concerning these matters follow:

So far as the proposed Colombian Confederacy has for its object a combined system of total and unqualified *independence* of Europe, to the exclusion of all partial compositions of any one of the emancipated colonies with Spain, it will have the entire approbation and good wishes of the United States, but will require no special agency of theirs to carry it into effect.

So far as its purposes may be to concert a general system of popular representation for the government of the several independent states which are floating from the wreck of the Spanish power in America, the United States will still cheer it with their approbation, and speed with their good wishes its success.

And so far as its objects may be to accomplish a meeting, at which the United States should preside, to assimilate the politics of the south with those of the north, a more particular and definite view of the end proposed by this design, and of the means by which it is to be effected, will be necessary to enable us to determine upon our concurrence with it.²⁴

THE UNITED STATES DECLINES TO MAKE A TREATY OF ALLIANCE WITH COLOMBIA

Thus far had Secretary Adams proceeded in the formulation of a policy with respect to the probable action of the United States in case that it should be formally invited to become a member of the proposed Colombian confederacy and to send delegates to a contemplated congress of plenipotentiaries. Before such invitations were extended to the United States government, however, Adams was brought face to face with an important closely related question.

In 1824, Colombia was fearful that France would aid Spain in its project of reconquering the lost Spanish colonies.²⁵ In view of this threatened danger, José María Salazar, Colombian minister to the United States, addressed a communication

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

²⁵ Alvarez, *The Monroe Doctrine*, p. 10.

to Secretary Adams on July 2, 1824, in which he proposed a treaty of alliance between Colombia and the United States and asked that the scope of the Monroe Doctrine which had been promulgated seven months earlier, be defined. Minister Salazar's note reads in part as follows:

My Government has seen with the greatest pleasure the Message of the President of the United States, a work very worthy of its author, and which expresses the public sentiments of the people over whom he presides: it cannot be doubted, in virtue of this document, that the Government of the United-States endeavours to oppose the policy and ultimate views of the Holy Alliance, . . .

In such circumstances the Government of Colombia is desirous to know in what manner the Government of the United-States intends to resist on its part any interference of the Holy Alliance for the purpose of subjugating the new Republics or interfering in their political forms: if it will enter into a Treaty of Alliance with the Republic of Colombia to save America in general from the calamities of a despotic system; and finally if the Government of Washington understands by foreign interference the employment of Spanish forces against America at the time when Spain is occupied by a French Army, and its Government under the influence of France and her Allies. . . .

In the name of my Government therefore, and reposing on the sympathy of the United States, I request the said explanations which may serve for its government in its policy and in its system of defence.²⁶

Secretary Adams replied to Minister Salazar's letter of inquiry on August 6, 1824. In his reply he reasserted the policy of neutrality of the United States as regards the then feeble efforts of Spain to regain its former colonies. He minimized Colombia's fears of intervention at that stage of developments by the holy alliance in the countries of the western hemisphere. He also directed attention to the fact that the "ultimate decision" of the question of resistance on the part of the United States to any such interference by the holy alliance "belonged to the Legislative Department of the Govern-

²⁶ Salazar to Adams, Washington, July 2, 1824, in Manning, *op. cit.*, II. 1282.

ment".²⁷ At the same time, however, Adams gave hearty assurance to Colombia of the continued friendship of President Monroe and pledged the latter's coöperation in case a future crisis should arise from the aggressions of the holy alliance. His remarks follow:

The Sentiments of the president remain as they were expressed in his last annual message to Congress.²⁸ Should the crisis which appeared then to be approaching, and which gave rise to the remarks then made, hereafter recur, he will be ready to give them effect by recommending to the Legislature the adoption of the measures exclusively of their resort, and by which the principles asserted by him, would with the concurrence if given, be on the part of the United States, efficaciously maintained.²⁹

SECRETARY ADAMS RECEIVES FURTHER REPORTS CONCERNING THE
PROPOSED CONFEDERATION AND CONGRESS

Meanwhile the Republic of Colombia was proceeding enthusiastically with plans for the creation of the proposed confederation. Notice of this and of the likelihood that the United States would be invited to participate in the proposed congress to be held at Panama was sent to Adams by Anderson at Bogotá just twelve days after the former had declined to have the United States enter a treaty of alliance with Colombia. In this letter Anderson said:

There is no subject to which the officers in administration here, more frequently advert, none to which they refer as being so likely to produce beneficial consequences to the prosperous progress of the Spanish American States, as to the Confederation, which is produced by their late treaties with those States [Peru, Chile, Buenos Aires, Mexico, and the United Provinces of Central America]. They always refer to it in a manner which indicates a wish that the United States should in some way become connected with it; although the manner in which

²⁷ Adams to Salazar, August 6, 1824 (Extract, State Department MS.), in Alvarez, *The Monroe Doctrine*, p. 124.

²⁸ Namely, the annual message of December 2, 1823, containing the so-called Monroe Doctrine.

²⁹ Adams to Salazar, August 6, 1824, *loc. cit.*

that connection should be formed, or the extent to which she should be engaged does not seem yet to have been the subject of any very precise consideration with them. I think it is very probable that the United States will be invited to attend the meeting at Panama, under the idea (which I have heard expressed) that her presence through her representative, would have the effect in some degree of assimilating the politics and identifying the views and interests of all the republican states of America.³⁰

Adams next heard from Prevost at Lima concerning the proposed Panama congress. In a letter of January 10, 1825, Prevost advised that a "general Congress of Deputies from the several Provinces of Spanish America including Mexico", would probably meet "at the Isthmus under the immediate auspices of Bolívar sometime in the ensuing Summer"—a prediction which fell short by a full year. Since his first reports written from Chile in the latter part of 1822 with reference to the proposed congress of plenipotentiaries, Prevost had lost none of his enthusiasm concerning it. He characterized the congress as

a meeting from which the most important results must proceed: Results in which the U. States are most deeply interested . . .

Coupled with this prediction was the following significant statement:

I regret that the silence maintained by the Department on this head does not allow me to express the concurrence of the President, so as to give effect to the Invitation at one time contemplated.³¹

PRESIDENT ADAMS'S POLICY MADE KNOWN TO THE COLOMBIAN
AND MEXICAN MINISTERS

It was not long after the above letter was written before the question of the participation of the United States in the proposed congress was informally brought to the attention of the department of state by the Mexican and Colombian min-

³⁰ Anderson to Adams, in Manning, *op. cit.* II. 1283.

³¹ Prevost to Adams, Lima, January 10, 1825, in Manning, *op. cit.*, III. 1777.

isters in Washington. An account of this is given by Secretary of State Clay to Minister Anderson in Colombia in a letter of September 16, 1825. This letter reads in part as follows:

During the last spring, the Ministers of Colombia and Mexico near this Government, made separate, but nearly simultaneous, communications to this Department, in relation to the contemplated Congress at Panama. Each of them stated that he was instructed by his Government to say, that it would be very agreeable to it that the United States should be represented at that Congress; that it was not expected that they would take any part in its deliberations, or measures of concert, in respect to the existing war with Spain, but that other great interests affecting the Continent of America, and the friendly intercourse between the Independent Nations which are established on it, might be considered and regulated at the Congress; and that, not knowing what might be the views of the United States, a previous enquiry was directed to be made, whether they would, if invited by Colombia or Mexico, be represented at Panama; and if an affirmative answer were given, each of these Ministers stated that the United States would be accordingly invited by his Government to be represented there.³²

Two and one half years before the above inquiries were made by the Colombian and Mexican ministers—in fact ever since the report from Prevost written from Santiago, Chile, on November 15, 1822—the government of the United States had been advised from time to time by its representatives in South America that it would probably be invited to participate in a congress of plenipotentiaries. The above inquiries of the Spanish American ministers, therefore, did not take the government of the United States by surprise. When it was first acquainted with the proposals for a congress, John Quincy Adams was secretary of state. In the spring of 1825 he became president of the United States. Before the inquiry of the Colombian and Mexican ministers had been made Adams,

³² Clay to Anderson, Washington, September 16, 1825, in Manning, *op. cit.*, I. 252-253.

as secretary of state, had declined to enter into a defensive treaty of alliance with Colombia, and had reasserted the policy of the neutrality of the United States in the feeble struggle between Spain and its lost colonies. Now, as president, and upon inquiry being made as to whether the United States would participate in the congress of Panama, Adams, as president, continued to direct the policy which as secretary of state he had tentatively formulated. This is clearly shown by Secretary of State Clay in a letter to Minister Anderson advising him concerning the inquiries of the Mexican and Colombian ministers. The letter reads in part as follows:

The President instructed me to say, and I accordingly replied, that the communication was received with great sensibility to the friendly consideration of the United States, by which it had been dictated; that, of course, they could not make themselves any party to the existing war with Spain, or to councils for deliberating on the means of its further prosecution; that he believed such a Congress as was proposed, might be highly useful in settling several important disputed questions of public law, and in arranging other matters of deep interest to the American Continent, and to the friendly intercourse between the American Powers; that before such a Congress, however, assembled, it appeared to him to be necessary to arrange between the different Powers to be represented, several preliminary points, such as, the subjects to which the attention of the Congress was to be directed; the nature, and the form, of the Powers to be given to the Ministers, and the mode of organizing the Congress. If these preliminary points could be adjusted, in a manner satisfactory to the United States, the Ministers from Colombia and Mexico were informed that the United States would be represented at the Congress. Upon enquiry, if these preliminary points had yet engaged the attention of the Government either of Colombia or Mexico, they were unable to inform me that they had, whilst both appeared to admit the expediency of their being settled. Each of them undertook to communicate to his Government the answer which I had been instructed by the President to make; and nothing further has since passed. It has been deemed proper that you should be made acquainted with what has occurred here on this matter, in order that, if it should be touched

upon by the Colombian Government, you may, if necessary, be able to communicate what happened. Should the President ultimately determine that the United States shall be represented at Panama you will be designated for that service, either alone, or associated with others, and you will hold yourself in readiness accordingly. We shall make no further movement, until we hear from the Government of Colombia or Mexico. . . .³³

THE UNITED STATES IS FORMALLY INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE
PANAMA CONGRESS, NOVEMBER, 1825

It was not long after the above letter was written before the United States government was formally invited by the governments of three Spanish American republics to participate in the forthcoming congress at Panama. The first government to extend the invitation was that of Mexico, the second was that of Colombia, and the third was that of the United Provinces of Central America.

The Mexican invitation was dual in character. On November 1, 1825, the Mexican legation at Washington transmitted to President Adams a letter from President Guadalupe Victoria. In this letter President Victoria advised concerning the treaty of alliance which had been concluded between Colombia and Mexico by which it had been agreed

to invite the other free nations of the American Continent, that, in a general Congress to be held on the Isthmus of Panama, they should confer and agree upon matters of general interest to America.

Therefore, since Vice-President Santander, who was then in charge of executive powers at Bogotá, was of the opinion that the congress should be held "as soon as possible", President Victoria formally invited the United States to participate in it. His invitation is as follows:

We have acceded to their [the parties to the Colombian federative treaties] desires, and as among the matters with which the Congress is to be engaged some questions may arise, which are interesting not

³³ Clay to Anderson, Washington, September 16, 1825, in Manning, *op. cit.*, I. 253.

only to the Republics which were formerly Spanish possessions, but to all America in general, we have thought it our duty to invite you to come to that meeting, judging it very proper that in this manner the general opinion of all the American States should be declared, principally upon the interference which the nations of Europe may pretend to exercise in our domestic concerns; upon colonization by them on the American Continent, and upon those points of international law, the declaration of which will avert wars and dissensions, and will give security to the peace and prosperity of the People. The interest, which these States have solemnly professed to take in all these questions, flatters us with the hope that this our invitation will have all the effect which we desire, earnestly requesting you to take this matter into consideration, . . .³⁴

Two days after the above letter had been transmitted to President Adams, Señor Pablo Obregón, Mexican minister in Washington, formally advised Clay of the desire of his government that the United States should participate in the congress of Panama. This letter is significant in that the United States was given assurances that in case it should decide to participate in the congress it would not be embarrassed by being expected to consider questions other than those affecting the common interest of the continent. Señor Obregón's letter reads in part as follows:

The Government of the Undersigned never believed, and wished not to solicit it, that the United States of America would take any other part in the business of the present Congress, than the discussion of subjects, which, from their nature and import, were pointed out by the preceding administration, as of general interest to the Continent. The part, therefore, that a neutral nation may take in the question and war of independence, between the new powers of the Continent and Spain, will be one subject for the consideration of the Congress.

The government of the Undersigned conceiving, that the powers of America, are, in common, resolved upon resistance, it should be a matter of consideration, how the greatest possible force should be given to this, and the evil be thereby evaded or successfully opposed.

³⁴ "Guadalupe Victoria, President of Mexico, to John Quincy Adams, President of the United States, through the Mexican Legation at Washington", November 1, 1825, in Manning, op. cit., III. 1641.

The only mode of effecting this, is to concert in anticipation; and for the States to guaranty mutual cooperation. They would otherwise operate partially, and much less effectively.

The prevention of colonization in America, by European powers, is another subject of discussion, in which the United States will participate.

In addition to these two principal points, the Representatives of the United States of America may deliberate upon others originated by the existence of new Communities, and which it is not easy to enumerate. The government of the United States of Mexico has furnished its commissioners with full powers and instructions, in relation to them, which it hopes will also be furnished to the plenipotentiaries of the other powers.

The Congress will assemble at the city of Panama, where, by this time, the Representatives of Colombia, Peru, Guatemala and Mexico, have arrived. They will occupy themselves in the preliminary regulations of the Assembly, and perhaps proceed to deliberate upon questions exclusively pertaining to the belligerents.

The United States of America can send their Representatives to that City, to take part in those questions which were declared to the World, some time since, as affecting the interests of all America. In this declaration, the United States were first. Besides these questions, they may assist in the discussion of others, that will arise out of the formation of the new Communities. These governments, by the meeting of the Congress, will effect the desirable object of demonstrating by acts, the facility and decision, with which the powers of this Continent can operate, combinedly, in the common cause.

For this purpose, and in fulfillment of what was agreed on, at the verbal conferences which the Undersigned, Minister plenipotentiary, held with Honble Secretary of State, he invites this Government, to send its Representatives to the Congress of Panama, investing them with the authority as suggested, and expressing in their credentials, the two principal points. The Minister from Colombia will make the same invitation, and corresponds in sentiment with the Undersigned; who hopes, herewith, to have fulfilled the requirements of the Honble Secretary.³⁵

³⁵ Obregón to Clay, Washington, November 3, 1825, in Manning, *op. cit.*, III. 1642-1643. A different translation of the same document appears in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. (Washington, 1858), 836.

The invitation to participate in the congress of Panama which Colombia extended to the United States was presented to Secretary Clay by the Colombian minister, Salazar, on November 2, 1825. Thus the Colombian invitation was presented one day after that of President Victoria and the day before Obregón addressed Mexico's invitation to Secretary Clay. The Colombian invitation is similar in some respects to that of Mexico, but it is more specific than the latter concerning the subjects that were to be discussed at the congress and in giving assurance that the United States would not be embarrassed by being called upon to depart from its policy of neutrality as theretofore followed with respect to Spain and its former colonies. After advising that the plenipotentiaries from Peru were already at Panama and that those from Colombia were on their way thither, Señor Salazar commented as follows:

Of the points which will be under discussion by the Assembly of Panama, the Undersigned is unable to give a minute enumeration; as they will evidently arise out of the deliberations of the Congress. He is however authorized by his government to assure the United States, that these points have no tendency to violate their professed principles of neutrality. The Undersigned has also been instructed to suggest some subjects that will form useful matter of discussion in the Congress.

These subjects constitute two classes:

1. Matters, peculiarly and exclusively concerning the belligerents.
2. Matters between the belligerents and neutrals. As the United States will not take part in the discussion of subjects of the first description, we will confine ourselves to the latter.

At Panama, the best and most opportune occasion is offered to the United States, to fix some principles of international law, the unsettled state of which, has caused much evil to humanity. It is to be presumed, that this government possesses more light upon the subject, than the other States of our Hemisphere, both from its experience during the wars that succeeded the French revolution, and from its negotiations now on foot with Great Britain and other nations, relative to these principles. It belongs to each of the concurring

parties to propose their views, but the voice of the United States will be heard with the respect and deference, which its early labors in a work of such importance, will merit.

The manner in which all colonization of European powers on the American continent shall be resisted, and their interference in the present contest between Spain and her former colonies prevented, are other points of great interest. Were it proper, an eventual alliance, in case these events should occur, which is within the range of possibilities, and the treaty, of which no use should be made until the *casus foederis* should happen, to remain secret; or, if this should seem premature, a convention so anticipated, would be a different means, to secure the same end of preventing foreign influence. This is a matter of immediate utility to the American states that are at war with Spain, and is in accordance with the repeated declarations and protests of the Cabinet at Washington. The conferences held on this subject being confidential, would increase mutual friendship, and promote the respective interests of the parties.

The consideration of the means to be adopted for the entire abolition of the African slave trade, is a subject sacred to humanity, and interesting to the policy of the American States. To effect it, their energetic, general and uniform, cooperation is desirable. At the proposition of the United States, Colombia made a convention with them on this subject, which has not been ratified by the government of the United States. Would, that America which does not think politic what is unjust, would contribute in union, and with common consent, to the good of Africa!

The descendants of this portion of the globe, have succeeded in founding an independent Republic, whose government is now recognized by its ancient Metropolis. On what basis the relations of Hayti, and of other parts of our Hemisphere that shall hereafter be in like circumstances, are to be placed, is a question simple at first view, but attended with serious difficulties when closely examined. These arise from the different manner of regarding Africans, and from their different rights in Hayti, the United States, and in other American States. This question will be determined at the Isthmus, and if possible, a uniform rule of conduct adopted in regard to it, or those modifications that may be demanded by circumstances.

The Undersigned merely makes these suggestions, by way of example; it is left to the wisdom of the Governments, and the judgments of their Representatives, to propose whatever may be esteemed of common good to the New Hemisphere. Inviting the United States, in the name of Colombia, to a Congress, the mere Assembling of which, will increase the political importance of America, and shew the facility with which she can combine her resources in defence of common rights, when necessary, the Undersigned hopes, that the United States will make an early appointment of a person or persons to represent them in this Assembly, as the conditions that were required, have been fulfilled.³⁶

The final invitation which the United States received to participate in the congress of Panama was from Central America. This invitation came in the form of a letter from Señor Antonio José Cañaz, Central American minister at Washington, dated November 14, 1825. In this letter Señor Cañaz reviewed the situation which had led his government to believe that "America should form a system for itself", and of the convention "providing for this object" which had been signed with Colombia in March of that year. He then advised that he had been instructed by his government to express its desire that the government of the United States "should send a representative to the General Congress". The invitation from the Central American Minister read as follows:

To fulfill the wishes of my Government, and convinced at the same time, of the importance and respectability which would attach to the General Congress of the American Republics, from the presence of Envoys from the United States of America, I now address this high Government upon this subject, in the name of Central America. I am anxious, therefore, to know, if this Republic which has ever shown itself the generous friend of the New American States, is disposed to send its Envoys to the General Congress, the object of which, is, to preserve and confirm the absolute independence of these Republics, and

³⁶ Salazar to Clay, Washington, November 2, 1825, in Manning, *op. cit.*, II. 1286-1288. A translation of the same document is in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 836-837.

to promote the general good, and *which will not require, that the Representatives of the United States should, in the least, compromit their present neutrality, harmony and good intelligence, with other nations.* This, my Government has deemed it necessary to state distinctly, in making the present invitation.³⁷

PRESIDENT ADAMS ACCEPTS THE INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE
IN THE PANAMA CONGRESS

The executive branch of the United States government did not delay long in indicating its willingness to accept the formal invitations to participate in the congress of Panama and in recommending to congress that the necessary appropriation be made to provide for such participation. On November 30, 1825, Clay sent identic answers to the invitations received earlier in the month from the Mexican and Colombian ministers in Washington. The concluding paragraph in each answer outlines the policy which the executive branch of the government proposed to follow with respect to the congress of Panama. This paragraph is as follows:

In your note there is not recognized so exact a compliance with the conditions on which the President expressed his willingness that the United States should be represented at Panama as could have been desired. It would have been, perhaps, better if there had been a full understanding between all the American powers who may assemble, by their representatives, of the precise questions on which they are to deliberate; and that some other matters, respecting the powers of the deputies and the organization of the Congress, should have been distinctly arranged prior to the opening of its deliberations. But as the want of the adjustment of these preliminaries, if it should occasion any inconvenience, could be only productive of some delay, the President has determined at once to manifest the sensibility of the United States to whatever concerns the prosperity of the American hemisphere, and to the friendly motives which have actuated your Government in transmitting the invitation which you have communicated. He has therefore resolved, should the Senate of the United States, now expected to assemble in a few days, give their advice and consent,

³⁷ Cañaz to Clay, Washington, November 14, 1825, in Manning, *op. cit.*, II. 883.

to send Commissioners to the Congress of Panama. While they will not be authorized to enter upon any deliberations, or to concur in any facts inconsistent with the present neutral position of the United States and its obligations, they will be fully empowered and instructed upon all questions which are likely to arise in the Congress on subjects in which the nations of America have a common interest. All unnecessary delay will be avoided in the departure of these Commissioners from the United States for the point of their destination.³⁸

The same day that he sent the above information to the Mexican and Colombian ministers, Clay replied to the note of November 14 of Señor Cañaz, the Central American minister in Washington. In this note Clay gave assurances that President Adams would ask the senate to concur in a recommendation that the invitation to the United States to participate in the congress of Panama be accepted. This note in part is as follows:

I am instructed by him [President Adams] to say that the United States, always feeling the deepest interest in whatever concerns the prosperity of the American hemisphere, and receiving with great sensibility this new proof of the friendly esteem of the Government of the Central Republic, will be represented at that Congress, if the Senate of the United States should so advise and consent. . . . If it concur with the President, Commissioners from the United States will be deputed to Panama without any unnecessary delay. These Commissioners will be empowered and instructed upon all questions which may appear to this Government to be likely to arise in the Congress on subjects in which the nations of America may be supposed to have a common interest.³⁹

PRESIDENT ADAMS ADVISES CONGRESS OF HIS POLICY AND ASKS ITS APPROVAL

In the three notes addressed respectively to the Mexican, Colombian, and Central American ministers in Washington, President Adams and Secretary Clay formally committed the

³⁸ Clay to Obregón, and Clay to Salazar, Washington, November 30, 1825, in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 837-838.

³⁹ Clay to Cañaz, Washington, November 30, 1825, in *ibid.*, p. 839.

executive branch of the government of the United States to a policy calling for its participation in the congress of Panama. However, President Adams's policy in this regard may not be considered as having been definitely formulated until he had made it known to congress and had asked it—for in the final instance he asked not the senate alone, but both houses of congress—to concur with him in his opinion that the United States should be represented at the congress of Panama, and called upon it to make the appropriation necessary for such participation.

In his annual message to congress on December 6, 1825, President Adams touched lightly upon Spanish American affairs. He referred with satisfaction to a new treaty of commerce and navigation with Colombia and to

the resistance still opposed in certain parts of Europe to the acknowledgement of the Southern American Republics as independent States, and he stated in the following words his policy with respect to the Panama congress:

Among the measures which have been suggested to them by the new relations with one another, resulting from the recent changes in their condition, is that of assembling, at the Isthmus of Panama, a congress, at which each of them should be represented, to deliberate upon objects important to the welfare of all. The Republics of Colombia, of Mexico, and of Central America, have already deputed plenipotentiaries to such a meeting, and they have invited the United States to be also represented there by their ministers. The invitation has been accepted, and ministers on the part of the United States will be commissioned to attend at those deliberations, and to take part in them, so far as may be compatible with that neutrality from which it is neither our intention, nor the desire of the other American States, that we should depart.⁴⁰

Shortly after the date of his annual message to congress and as a preliminary to sending to it a more definite state-

⁴⁰ J. D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, II. (Washington, 1896), 302.

ment concerning his Spanish American policy, together with a request that it concur in his desire to send commissioners to the Panama congress, President Adams called upon Secretary Clay for

a statement . . . of what passed in the Department of State, with the ministers of the Republics of Colombia, Mexico, and Central America, in respect to the invitation to the United States to be represented in the Congress of Panama.

Clay, in complying with this request in a letter of December 20, briefly reviewed the discussions and correspondence which he had had with the Spanish American ministers in Washington since the spring of that year.⁴¹

Six days later President Adams, in the message quoted below, outlined to congress the events leading up to the formal invitations to the United States to participate in the congress of Panama, indicated the advantages which in his opinion might result from participation by the United States in the congress of Panama, and concluded by nominating as "Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary to the Assembly of American Nations at Panama", Richard C. Anderson, of Kentucky, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania. Because of the significance of this message it is quoted in full and is as follows:

In the message to both Houses of Congress at the commencement of the session it was mentioned that the Governments of the Republics of Colombia, of Mexico, and of Central America had severally invited the Government of the United States to be represented at the Congress of American nations to be assembled at Panama to deliberate upon objects of peculiar concernment to this hemisphere, and that this invitation had been accepted.

Although this measure was deemed to be within the constitutional competency of the Executive, I have not thought proper to take any step in it before ascertaining that my opinion of its expediency will

⁴¹ Clay to President Adams, Washington, December 20, 1825, in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 835-836.

concur with that of both branches of the Legislature, first, by the decision of the Senate upon the nominations to be laid before them, and secondly, by the sanction of both Houses to the appropriations, without which it can not be carried into effect.

A report from the Secretary of State and copies of the correspondence with the South American Governments on this subject since the invitation given by them are herewith transmitted to the Senate. They will disclose the objects of importance which are expected to form a subject of discussion at this meeting, in which interests of high importance to this Union are involved. It will be seen that the United States neither intend nor are expected to take part in any deliberations of a belligerent character; that the motive of their attendance is neither to contract alliances nor to engage in any undertaking or project importing hostility to any other nation.

But the Southern American nations, in the infancy of their independence, often find themselves in positions with reference to other countries with the principles applicable to which, derivable from the state of independence itself, they have not been familiarized by experience. The result of this has been that sometimes in their intercourse with the United States they have manifested dispositions to reserve a right of granting special favors and privileges to the Spanish nation as the price of their recognition. At others they have actually established duties and impositions operating unfavorably to the United States to the advantage of other European powers, and sometimes they have appeared to consider that they might interchange among themselves mutual concessions of exclusive favor, to which neither European powers nor the United States should be admitted. In most of these cases their regulations unfavorable to us have yielded to friendly expostulation and remonstrance. But it is believed to be of infinite moment that the principles of a liberal commercial intercourse should be exhibited to them, and urged with disinterested and friendly persuasion upon them when all assembled for the avowed purpose of consulting together upon the establishment of such principles as may have an important bearing upon their future welfare.

The consentaneous adoption of principles of maritime neutrality, and favorable to the navigation of peace, and commerce in time of war, will also form a subject of consideration to this Congress. The doctrine that free ships make free goods and the restrictions of reason upon the extent of blockades may be established by general agreement

with far more ease, and perhaps with less danger, by the general engagement to adhere to them concerted at such a meeting, than by partial treaties or conventions with each of the nations separately. An agreement between all the parties represented at the meeting that each will guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders may be found advisable. This was more than two years since announced by my predecessor to the world as a principle resulting from the emancipation of both the American continents. It may be so developed to the new southern nations that they will all feel it as an essential appendage to their independence.

There is yet another subject upon which, without entering into any treaty, the moral influence of the United States may perhaps be exerted with beneficial consequences at such a meeting—the advancement of religious liberty. Some of the southern nations are even yet so far under the dominion of prejudice that they have incorporated with their political constitutions an exclusive church, without toleration of any other than the dominant sect. The abandonment of this last badge of religious bigotry and oppression may be pressed more effectually by the united exertions of those who concur in the principles of freedom of conscience upon those who are yet to be convinced of their justice and wisdom than by the solitary efforts of a minister to any one of the separate Governments.

The indirect influence which the United States may exercise upon any projects or purposes originating in the war in which the southern Republics are still engaged, which might seriously affect the interests of this Union, and the good offices by which the United States may ultimately contribute to bring that war to a speedier termination, though among the motives which have convinced me of the propriety of complying with this invitation, are so far contingent and eventual that it would be improper to dwell upon them more at large.

In fine, a decisive inducement with me for acceding to the measure is to show by this token of respect to the southern Republics the interest that we take in their welfare and our disposition to comply with their wishes. Having been the first to recognize their independence, and sympathized with them so far as was compatible with our neutral duties in all their struggles and sufferings to acquire it, we have laid the foundation of our future intercourse with them in the broadest principles of reciprocity and the most cordial feelings of fraternal

friendship. To extend those principles to all our commercial relations with them and to hand down that friendship to future ages is congenial to the highest policy of the Union, as it will be to that of all those nations and their posterity. In the confidence that these sentiments will meet the approbation of the Senate, I nominate Richard C. Anderson, of Kentucky, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, to be envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to the assembly of American nations at Panama, and William B. Rochester of New York, to be secretary to the mission.⁴²

With the dispatch of the above message it may be said that President Adams's policy with respect to the participation by the United States in the congress of Panama had been definitely formulated. Beyond that point it is not proposed to carry the narrative of this study. Suffice it to say that such opposition soon developed in congress with respect to the president's policy that the administration encountered one of the severest parliamentary battles in its history. That is another story. Enough has been said here, it is hoped, to show that from the date of Prevost's first report to Secretary Adams in November, 1822, concerning proposals for a congress of plenipotentiaries, until the date of President Adams's special message of December 26, 1825, there was not, so far as is known, one unkind or hostile remark by any of the diplomatic agents in Spanish America or any official of the department of state with respect to such a congress. On the other hand, while declining to enter into a defensive treaty of alliance with Colombia, as matters then stood with respect to Europe, the men who were responsible for the foreign policy of the United States were, during the period under discussion, wholeheartedly in sympathy with the general purposes of the proposed congress. This is a phase of practical Pan-Americanism that is little realized.

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⁴² Richardson, *op. cit.*, II. 318-320, also in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 834-835.

JOSÉ BONIFACIO AND BRAZILIAN HISTORY¹

It is no more possible to discuss Europe in the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century without mentioning Napoleon than it is to discuss the history of modern Brazil from 1822 to the present time without writing about José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva.

Yet historians have slighted Bonifacio in a most amazing fashion. Ignorance as an excuse for this neglect on the part of unbiased scholars is not a tenable explanation since Armitage² and Handelmann,³ writing respectively in 1835 and 1860, definitely assigned a great rôle to Bonifacio in the history of Brazil.

Brazilian historians may have neglected him in the past, but that is no longer the case. Since 1922, when the centenary of Brazilian independence was celebrated, a deluge of documents, essays, monographs, dictionaries and books has appeared on the movements of 1821, 1822, and 1823; and many of these deal at length with Bonifacio, and all of them reveal, as never before, how ubiquitous was Bonifacio's direct and indirect influence in the most momentous period of Brazilian national life. Despite the overwhelming evidence of contemporary documents and the unstinted and uncontrolled praise of modern Brazilian writers, many works appearing or revised since 1922 still slight the "Father of Modern Brazil", as he is called by many.

There are probably two outstanding factors, among others, contributing to this neglect of Bonifacio. One is the language barrier. Portuguese seems to be a stumbling block even to scholars who can handle Spanish well. The second is the lack

¹ Because of the complexity of the bibliography, all references in the text will be to the name of author and work or essay. Full identification can be obtained by looking under author's name in the bibliographical list at the end of this article.

² Armitage, *The History of Brazil*, 1835.

³ Handelmann, *Geschichte von Brasilien*, 1860.

of appreciation of Brazil's part in the history and development of Latin America. The *number* of Spanish speaking nations, terms such as *Hispanic American*,⁴ the proximity of Spanish speaking countries to the United States, the absence in Brazil of great military heroes like San Martín, Sucre, and Bolívar, the monarchyhood of Brazil from 1882 to 1889, all may have contributed to a lack of interest in Brazilian life and institutions. How else can one explain the neglect of one of the greatest figures America has produced.

It is true that much of the modern writing on Bonifacio has suffered from the nationalist touch, but the discerning historian can always weed out the unnecessary and prejudiced embellishments and leave before him the naked facts. The mere facts about Bonifacio, I believe, will show how much he, among the truly great figures of history, has been neglected, underestimated, and ignored.

The background⁵ and setting of Bonifacio's political life are easily described. Brazil, a colony of Portugal from 1500 to 1808, was governed under the mercantilist and absolutist policies of those centuries. Though neglected at first because precious metal had not been discovered and because the east proved a greater lure, a large slave-owning planter aristocracy deeply entrenched itself in Brazil. Both Indian and negro slaves were the labor of agriculture and mining, the economic systems on which Brazil based its existence. The history of the colonial period, aside from the expulsion of the French and the Dutch, was a struggle between the Jesuits, who defended the Indian, and the planter, who sought to enslave him. The suppression of the Jesuits and the freeing of the Indians by Pombal greatly increased the inflow of negroes

⁴ The terms "Hispanic America" and "Hispanic American" refer, of course, when properly used, to all the states of South America, and to Mexico, Cuba, and Santo Domingo. Relative to the term "Hispanic", see this REVIEW, I. 16-17, 199, 335, 464, and II. 264.—ED.

⁵ See bibliographical list at the end of this article for histories of Brazil consulted.

—six hundred and forty-two thousand coming from Angola between 1759 and 1803—and lessened control over the Indian population.

Brazil was a viceroyalty, but the administration was not centralized. Great distances, the predetermined impotence of the viceroy, and the fact that the governors of each captaincy received orders directly from Lisbon, made of Brazil a disconnected colony. It was decentralized, and centrifugal forces were constantly in operation. Absence of roads, the heterogeneity of its population, and the unevenness of the Portuguese administration all contributed to the development of different degrees of culture in various parts of the colony.

In spite of Portuguese desire to keep them out, French philosophy, and knowledge of the American and French revolutions seeped in, as well as the works of Adam Smith and Say. Revolutions in 1789 and 1801 showed that the Brazilians were discontented with the overlordship of the weak Portuguese monarchy.

In 1807, fear of Napoleon caused the Portuguese royal family to flee to Brazil. The court was set up in Rio and in 1815 Brazil was elevated to an empire. The court with all its trappings satisfied the aristocratic elements, others were heartened by beneficial decrees such as the opening of Brazilian ports, the establishment of a bank, press, library, tribunals of justice, freer industry, schools, etc. But the vast expenditures entailed in the maintenance of sycophantic Portuguese noblemen enraged the business and radical classes of Brazil, and other factors, too, offset the blessings brought by Dom João VI.'s stay. In 1817, a great republican revolt broke out in the province of Pernambuco. The revolutionaries, however, were no match for the trained troops of Portugal, the revolt failed, and the leaders were summarily punished.

The three revolts, that of 1789 in Minas for independence, that of the negroes in Bahia in 1801, and the republican revolt in Pernambuco in 1817, reveal that there was as yet no co-

ordinated nationality—if I may use the expression—that the negro element had to be taken into account, and that in certain sections there was a strong republican sentiment. In the case of the last revolt, it became clear that the presence and decrees of the king were not sufficient to satisfy the yearning for independence.

In 1820, the revolt in Portugal led to Dom João VI.'s return to Lisbon. The Portuguese desired a constitution and the rehabilitation of their cortes. Jealousy of Brazil played no small part in this uprising. Brazil's commerce had grown while Portugal's had declined. Portugal was now "becoming impatient of a despotism unsupported by the pomp of royalty".⁶ This revolt stimulated in the Brazilians a desire either for a representative system of their own or for representation in the metropolitan cortes. The immediate and important thing for Brazil, however, was the departure of the king, who left his son as regent. Though there was not much affection between them,

when the old King strained his son to his bosom for the last time he exclaimed, "Pedro, Brazil will, I fear, ere long separate herself from Portugal; and if so, place the crown on thine head, rather than allow it to fall into the hands of any adventurer."⁷

The young prince "had many essentials for popularity".⁸ His immediate problem was to check, if possible, the growing disunion between the Portuguese and the Brazilians. The cleavage showed itself in all ranks, in the army, among the clergy, in officialdom, in society. He also had great financial difficulties resulting from the extravagance of Dom João's stay of thirteen years and from graft in the royal bank. Many other vexatious problems arose to harass his administration. There was unrest everywhere. Brazilian desire for representation and the espousal by the Portuguese troops in

⁶ Armitage, *The History of Brazil*, etc., p. 21.

⁷ Armitage, p. 36.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Brazil of the constitutional cause forced the king, before he sailed, and the prince, who remained, to accept a constitution as yet not written.

Brazilian representatives to the Portuguese cortes were elected and were sent to Lisbon. The only delegation which carried instructions was that of the junta of São Paulo, of which José Bonifacio was vice-president. The cortes rushed to legislate for Portugal and Brazil and gave evidence of desiring to "recolonize" Brazil, hoping thereby to regain Portugal's lost trade and prestige. The purport of these decrees was to interchange the troops of Brazil and Portugal; to abolish most of the tribunals set up in Brazil; to free the provinces from the control of the prince-regent; and lastly, to force the prince to return. The Brazilian deputies to the cortes were so outnumbered that they were unable to change the course of events in that body, and, as Pinto da Rocha says, If the Portuguese cortes had wished to force Brazil to proclaim its independence they could not have acted otherwise. It would be difficult to more unjust and more inefficient.⁹

From 1810 on, the Spanish colonies had been revolting against Spain. That the successive steps of their revolt was known in Brazil is amply proved by the correspondence of Baron Marschall, the representative of Metternich in Brazil.¹⁰ The earlier success of the American colonies and the various revolts in Brazil could suggest only one way of thwarting the evident intention of the Portuguese cortes. It is not surprising, therefore, that events of great moment crowded themselves into less than two years.

In obedience to the decrees of the cortes, temporary provincial governments or juntas had been set up in Brazil. These became centers for separatist ideas as the cortes showed themselves more and more intractable. Masonic lodges broadcast separatist and republican propaganda. The municipality

⁹ Arthur Pinto da Rocha, *O Ministerio*, etc., p. 68.

¹⁰ *Documentos para a Historia da Independencia*, etc.

of Rio and the junta of São Paulo, together with other elements, joined in urging the prince to remain in Brazil.

The letter from the junta of São Paulo, penned by Bonifacio, was most eloquent and played no small part in the regent's decision. And on January 9, 1822, Dom Pedro pronounced these famous words, "If it be for the good of all and for the general felicity of the nation, tell the people that I will remain".¹¹ And the ninth of January is still known as the "I remain" day. On the 16th, the first independent ministry of Brazil was formed, with José Bonifacio as minister of interior, justice, and foreign affairs.¹² He published a decree on February 16 calling for the convocation of a council of representatives, the members of which were to be deputed by the electors of all the various provinces of Brazil. His purpose was to circumvent the disruption of Brazil which the carrying out of the decrees of the cortes would have involved. Not all the provinces could send delegates because of the presence of royal troops. By November, 1823, all of Brazil was rid of these soldiers, with the assistance of Lord Cochrane and by the

energy and foresight of Bonifacio [who] had already provided adequate means for their speedy and effectual expulsion.

On May 13, Dom Pedro was given the title, "Perpetual Protector and Defender of Brazil". The prince eagerly agreed to the calling of a constituent assembly. At the behest of Bonifacio, who was now the prince's closest and most influential advisor, Dom Pedro visited several provinces to win their loyalty to himself and to the cause. He completely won the province of Minas and in September was just leaving the city of São Paulo for Rio when he received disturbing dispatches from the cortes, from his royal father, and from loyal advisors in Rio which greatly troubled him and caused him

¹¹ Armitage, p. 64.

¹² From which time the Portuguese historians, Merêa and Peres (p. 273), date the independence of Brazil.

to act immediately. At Ypiranga, therefore, on September 7, he tore off the Portuguese insignia and colors from his uniform and cried, "Independence or Death", and this became the motto of a freed Brazil. Dom Pedro became constitutional emperor of Brazil and was crowned with great pomp and ceremony December 1, 1822.

According to Armitage, everything augured well for Brazil.

Public opinion, that "Queen of the World", as Dom Pedro himself styled her, was almost universally in his favor, and had he governed with even common prudence, he might have been adequately successful. . . .¹³

In April, 1823, the constituent assembly met in Rio, and José and his brother Antonio Carlos were chosen members of the drafting committee. The Andradas wished to give the emperor extraordinary powers while the liberals desired the supremacy of parliament over the emperor. And though the opposition was terrific, the Andrada ministry,¹⁴ "to whom Brazil owed her independence and Dom Pedro his crown", continued "all powerful", as Armitage put it. The arbitrariness of their actions, their impatience and ambitious spirit, and the machinations of their jealous opponents, however, caused them to slip from the grace of the emperor. They resigned but were recalled by the emperor because of the popular furor raised in their behalf. Finally the emperor in disgust dissolved the assembly, dismissed the Andrada ministry, and delegated to his council the drafting of a constitution. This constitution of 1824, nevertheless, contained many of the ideas of Antonio Carlos.

The Andradas now went into opposition. They founded a newspaper, the *Tamoyo*, and either from pique or resentment adopted policies more liberal than those they had advocated while in power. Their suspicion of the trustworthiness of the emperor may have caused this rather sudden change in their

¹³ Armitage, p. 90.

¹⁴ Another brother, Martin Francisco, was minister of finance.

attitude. After their dismissal he appointed a ministry of royalists and showed too much leniency to the Portuguese with whom Brazil was technically at war. The Andradas remained members of the house of deputies and both there and outside their talents as orators and thinkers gave them much influence. Finally an editorial regarding the Portuguese troops gave the emperor the excuse he sought for. The Andradas were arrested and sent to Europe as exiles.

José Bonifacio remained abroad composing verses until 1828. In 1831, the emperor, who seemed to be more Portuguese than Brazilian in interests, was forced to abdicate. He made Bonifacio the tutor of his children. This tutorship, however, lasted only until 1834, because José and his brothers were suspected of plotting the "restoration" of Dom Pedro I. In that year he was exiled to the island of Paquetá but was later allowed to move to Nichteroy, where he died in 1838.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOSÉ BONIFACIO

Bonifacio,¹⁵ son of a Portuguese nobleman and of a distinguished Paulista mother, was born in Santos, the seaport of the coffee state of São Paulo, in 1765. He was proud of being a Paulista, the pioneer in most of the progressive movements of Brazil. First taught by his father, later, according to the custom of the day, when seventeen years old he was sent to the University of Coimbra in Portugal, where he obtained degrees from the faculties of philosophy and jurisprudence. He specialized in mineralogy and metallurgy.

While a student he cultivated his poetical and literary talents. As a boy he had composed many poems and in Portugal his literary ability was greatly admired. He is included in Sylvio Romero's *History of Brazilian Literature* and his work is criticized there as though he were merely a great figure in the realm of polite letters. When exiled after performing his

¹⁵ Sylvio Romero, *Historia do Brazil*; and *Diccionario e Encyclopedia Internacional*.

great work for Brazil, in Bordeaux, under the name of Americo Elysio he spent most of his time composing verses of real literary merit. To say the least, he was versatile.

It was, however, as a scientist that he won European renown. After his graduation at Coimbra he was commissioned by the Portuguese government to make a scientific expedition in Europe. He traveled from 1790 to 1800. And what years for a trained observer! Bonifacio was a true scientist in that he used his talents for the observation of all natural phenomena and not only for those of his specialty. This will become clear in a study of Bonifacio's ideas. He visited France, Germany, England, Sweden, Denmark, and the Tyrolese mines. It is unnecessary for me to speak of the types of government and experiments in government he had an opportunity to observe. On this trip he formed friendships with some of the greatest minds of the day. Alexander von Humboldt was always eager to refer to Bonifacio as his friend and carried on a correspondence with him. Bonifacio worked with Volta, Priestley, Lavoisier, and others. He was made a member of the Society of Research of Berlin, of the Natural History and Filomatic Society of Paris, the Geological Society of London, the Mineralogical and Linnean Society of Jena. He studied at the University of Freiburg. While in Sweden he discovered several minerals until then unknown and contributed articles to many scientific magazines. He wrote mainly concerning minerals, their exploitation, etc., and showed even in these highly scientific productions that practical sense which was a marked characteristic of his whole life and work. One article in particular on the "Reforestation of the Monodego" showed not only the universality of his interests and knowledge but his great insight into the relation of natural and sociological phenomena.

The relation of Bonifacio to Humboldt will serve more than anything else to classify him. He represented the modern spirit of Europe and was one of its most effective and intelligent apostles.

In 1800, he returned to Portugal as full professor at the University of Coimbra. He occupied other official positions such as supervisor of mines, chief of police of Cintra, and led a corps of students against French troops when Napoleon invaded the peninsula. In 1812, he was made secretary of the Academy of Sciences and Letters of Lisbon. In 1817, he made a remarkable speech in honor of the queen, of which only one sentence interests us. In speaking of Brazil he says, "What a land for a great and vast Empire!" showing that he had not only not forgotten his native land but must have thought of its destiny and of its possibilities. In fact, a modern historian makes the comment that Bonifacio's faith in Brazil was his greatest attribute.

After an absence of eighteen years, Bonifacio, in 1819, returned to his native land and devoted himself to study and research, only to be caught in the whirlwind of the great events that occurred in 1821, 1822 and 1823, of which he became the center, the director, and the controlling mind. It was he who organized the junta of São Paulo, it was he who persuaded the prince to remain in Brazil, it was he who led the prince and advised him, it was he who called for deputies of the various provinces, it was he who made Dom Pedro the grand master of the apostolado, a lodge founded by Bonifacio. This lodge was in favor of a monarchica! government while the lodge from which it broke away was republican in spirit.

It was Bonifacio and his two distinguished brothers who ruled Brazil for the eighteen most momentous months of Brazilian history. It was he who laid down the basis of organization and also the most vital policies followed by Brazil in the solution of its most difficult problems. The three great changes in Brazilian life were, because of Bonifacio, bloodless, more the result of evolution than revolution. Brazil escaped the direful effects of the American Revolutionary War, of the French Revolution, and of the American Civil War because what these accomplished by blood was accomplished peace-

fully in Brazil. It was Bonifacio who solved the Brazilian problem with a Brazilian solution. He did not make the mistake made by the Spanish American republics of adapting the constitution of the United States as a remedy for their ills, which produced, as Professor Shepherd puts it, "political indigestion". Brazil had no dictators, no great civil wars, no great revolutionary upheavals. Its evolution was slow but sure, and nearly always progressive. Bonifacio knew his people, their traditions and customs, their psychology, the land. He understood the system of production; he knew what was going on in Spanish America; he knew what had happened in France. He understood the real significance of slavery and of the Indian problem; he knew the meaning of democracy and how futile it would be in Brazil at that historical moment; he knew that there was as yet no Brazilian nationality, no national cohesion; he realized that extremely intelligent measures would have to be used to bring order out of the chaos. He was arbitrary, human, and loved power—as a result he was exiled.

CONTEMPORARY TESTIMONY ABOUT JOSÉ BONIFACIO

Probably the most reliable of the witnesses who lived in Rio during at least part of the time that Bonifacio walked the stage was Armitage,¹⁸ often referred to above. Even though he was closer to the trees than modern historian, Armitage saw the forest more clearly than they. He wore no nationalist spectacles and thus his vision was not blurred. He refers to himself as the impartial chronicler when he sums up the services of the Andradas to Brazil:

Their views were ever great and their probity unimpeachable. It was by José Bonifacio that the uncertain and inconstant resolutions of Dom Pedro were irrevocably fixed. . . . They retired from office undecorated and in honourable poverty.

¹⁸ Armitage, an Englishman who resided in Brazil, took up the history of Brazil where Southey left off, and has two volumes covering the period from 1808 to 1835.

And in summing up the ten years of Dom Pedro I.'s reign he makes these significant comments:

His accession to the throne was in all probability the means of preserving Brazil from an anarchy even more fatal than that which has hitherto been the fate of the Spanish colonies. Any premature attempts to establish a republic must have led to a sanguinary and protracted war in which the slave population would have taken up arms, and havoc and desolation would have been spread over the fairest portion of South America. . . . The regimen to which the people were accustomed was monarchical and the monarchy was the best instrument to introduce that civilization which was wanting.¹⁷

That Bonifacio was very much respected by his enemies is revealed by the very animosity of the leader of the Portuguese troops in Brazil, General Jorge de Avilez. The ardor of his wrath is in itself a pretty compliment; he refers to Bonifacio as the

naturalist who suddenly becomes a politician . . . whose language is unison with that of the demagogues of all time and of all places . . . hiding behind a mask of patria, constitutions, hatred of tyranny, and other terms with which revolutionary dictionaries abound.¹⁸

Even in the Portuguese cortes his movements were watched and commented upon. Borges Carneiro, a member of that body, said:

There [i.e. in Brazil] one man alone, José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva, with the energy of his character improvises land and sea armaments, finds resources in abundance, and throws us out of doors with the least ceremony possible. We waste our time talking and do nothing but register the insults we receive from Brazil.¹⁹

Fortunately for future historians, some of the European diplomats in Brazil were not only conscientious but shrewd observers. It is only natural that the governments of Metter-

¹⁷ Armitage, II, 138.

¹⁸ Laudelino Freire, *Acceitação do Título*, etc., p. 185.

¹⁹ Oliveira Lima, *O Movimento*, etc., p. 185.

nich and of Ferdinand VII. should watch with keen interest the various steps of the movement in Brazil. The representatives of these two countries paid Bonifacio the great compliment of singling him out as the subject of long reports. Almost daily they registered their observations of his actions, his opinions, and the opinions of others concerning him. Consciously and unconsciously they reveal that they considered him the key to the whole situation. Baron Marschal²⁰ calls Bonifacio a man "of much grace" and says that it was due to him that the junta of São Paulo adhered immediately to the regency established by the king. On another occasion he comments, "José Bonifacio is going very far", *i.e.*, towards independence.

José Delavat y Rincon, Spanish minister in Rio, writes to his chief in Madrid:

The majority of sensible persons with whom I have talked . . . believe the Prince to have made a mistake when he dismissed the Andrada ministry. . . . It is believed the Prince will have to recall them.

Andrada and his brother exercise a great influence in the Legislative Assembly of which they are members.²¹

To show the popular appreciation of Bonifacio and his brothers, the following quotation from the petition to the emperor requesting their reinstatement in the ministry is significant not only because of the content but because almost every class of Brazilian is represented among the signers. There are fifteen and one-half pages of signatures. I have found the following represented: druggists, priests and bishops, officers of the army, business men, professors, government officials, grocers, artisans, shoemakers, surgeons, and students. Some sign for themselves and family, or for a club, or for themselves and friends. The petition in part reads as follows:

²⁰ *Documentos*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, etc., p. 444.

The people of the capital and province, lovers of the great cause of the Empire of Brazil . . . swear that the dismissal of the well loved citizens José Bonifacio and Martim Francisco de Andrada e Silva is detrimental to the greatness and progress of the movement for independence of this growing but rich and vast empire. Their knowledge of things political, their literary renown, their honour, the confidence they have inspired among foreign powers, their patriotism and love . . . have made them the anchor (with your Majesty) of this Empire. Removing them threatens us with confusion, anarchy, desolation, despotism and civil war.²²

In presenting excerpts from Bonifacio's writings, many of them may seem undeserving of attention. To those who know Brazil of today, and something of the Brazil of the twenties of the last century, and to those who know Brazilians and Latin psychology, every one of the following quotations contains a noteworthy sentence. Bonifacio's ideas on education and athletics sound like those of present day, practical minded, non-poetic, Anglo-Saxons. One must compare him with the other liberators of his day to get a truer and better perspective on his philosophy. He reveals throughout his whole life a stark realism, and his policies and plans, therefore, are all feasible and practicable. He had dug into real earth too long as a geologist to waste much time in reaching for unattainable clouds. He was an idealist, but his idealism was based on a foundation of reality and did not dangle footless from some beautiful star. His training as a scientist, his keen powers of observation,²³ and his cosmopolitan experience precluded loose and superficial thinking on social and political problems. He knew that it was just as impossible to transform copper into gold by a mere thought process as it was to make aristocratic Portuguese, illiterate slaves, and savage Indians into intelligent democrats. In comparing him with Washington, San Martín, and Bolívar, one notes that Bonifacio was not a

²² *Ibid.*, etc. pp. 402 ff.

²³ Sylvio Romero, the great Brazilian critic, refers to his keen powers of observation.

soldier, nor did he lead armies. His force was the force of mind, and judging by results, it was vastly superior to matter.

In 1822, when Brazil had to strike out on its own as a free people, these were the great problems that had to be solved:

1. The establishment of a republican or monarchical government for a people with no experience in self government, composed of three races and mixtures of those races, who lived in an enormous territory, with different climates and systems of production. Add to these factors the decentralization of colonial administration and the incipient dissolution produced by the decrees of the cortes in 1820.

2. A slave population which was far greater than the white. There were 1,930,000 slaves, 1,000,000 whites, 260,000 civilized Indians²⁴ and 526,000 mulattoes or free negroes. The slaves seemed indispensable to the plantation owners. To the enlightened Bonifacio this problem and the civilization of the Indians were only second to the constitution of a government.

3. A large Indian population of about 800,000, of which only 260,000 were civilized. Bonifacio considered both the negro and the Indian as integral parts of the population and part of the patrimony of *free* Brazil.²⁵

It was to the solution of these great problems that Bonifacio bent every effort. The great glory of Bonifacio is that his solution in each case was the one adopted, during both the empire and the republic. For the first, he demanded a limited constitutional monarchy—one was established; for the second, he preached the gradual emancipation of the slaves—the slaves were emancipated gradually; and for the third, he proposed a comprehensive plan for the intelligent civilization of the Indians—and his plan is that being used by Brazil today.

In explaining why he chose a monarchical solution for Brazil, he had in mind the peculiar needs of his people. He knew their weaknesses and had the courage to point them out.

²⁴ Keller, *Colonization*.

²⁵ *Diccionario Historico*, etc., pp. 240 ff.

No one but a Brazilian and a Bonifacio could say the following and remain *persona grata* in Brazil:

Bonifacio's program includes material improvements, construction of roads and canals, the impartial administration of justice, abolition of the slave trade, good schools, and the improvement of the race by means of gymnastics and athletics for the physical improvement of the youth of Brazil.²⁶

The Brazilians are enthusiastic supporters of a beautiful ideal, friends of their own liberty and do not give up easily the privileges they have once won. . . . Ignorant because uneducated but talented by nature . . . capable of great deeds as long as concentration is not required and as long as continued and monotonous effort is not demanded; sexually passionate because of climate, life and education. They undertake much but finish little.²⁷

They accuse me of having planted the monarchy, yes, because I saw that the customs of the people were eminently aristocratic; because it was necessary to get the support of the old families and the wealthy men who detested and feared the demagogues; because Portugal was monarchical, and the Brazilians imitative monkeys. Without the monarchy there would have been no center of strength and union and without this the nation could not have resisted the Portuguese Cortes and could not have achieved her national independence.²⁸

Bonifacio was very much aware of the distracted state of the Spanish America republics which were struggling with a form of government for which they were not prepared by temperament or by education. He remembered what he had seen while in France and recalled it to the constituent assembly in the notable speech reported by Armitage:

José Bonifacio dilated on the unfortunate condition of Spanish America for 14 years involved in civil war; he dwelt on the sufferings of France, assuaged only by the return to a monarchical form of government; and after alluding to the present distracted state of the Peninsula concluded in the following words: "As far as my voice

²⁶ Oliveira Lima, *O Movimento, etc.*, p. 200.

²⁷ Vicente Licinio Cardoso, *Figuras e Conceitos*, p. 225.

²⁸ José Bonifacio, in *O Ministerio*, p. 93.

can go, I protest in the face of the present assembly, and of the entire people, that we will form a constitution not democratic but monarchical and I myself will be the first to concede to the Emperor that which is really his due."²⁹

Once he had given Brazil a solid basis for its internal development, he sought to suggest a plan for its international life which savors very much of Pan Americanism and in which he antedated Bolívar by four years, thus becoming the first Pan Americanist. Oliveira Lima quotes Baron Marschal as writing, in May, 1822, to his government the following:

Mr. d'Andrada is going very far. . . . I heard him say yesterday in the presence of twenty foreign diplomats that a great alliance or American federation was necessary, with absolute free trade, that if Europe should refuse to allow this, the ports would be closed and they [i.e., the Americans] would adopt the Chinese system, and if the Europeans wished to attack them then the woods and the mountains would serve as fortresses. Time and space were the arms of governments as they were of nature.³⁰

Bonifacio's realism becomes very clear in the recommendations addressed to the Portuguese cortes in the instructions given the Paulista deputies to that body. In a country where even today theory, philosophy, and other abstract subjects tend to monopolize school curricula, the practicality of the courses Bonifacio suggested for a university to be founded in São Paulo stands in very bold relief. He even speaks of living expenses, always a matter of real concern to students of all ages and places. He suggests that the well born and rich should learn something useful. He is ever conscious of the milieu and in many of his sayings he mentions climate as a vital factor in Brazilian problems. The profundity and soundness of his thinking are never affected adversely by the universality of his interests. The following is a condensation of his instructions mentioned above:

²⁹ Armitage, p. 120.

³⁰ Oliveira Lima, *O Movimento*, etc., p. 199.

The civil and criminal codes should take into account Brazilian conditions—the climate, inhabitants, the people of different colors, some free and some slave. It is absolutely essential that a university be founded in São Paulo, in São Paulo because of its location and climate and because living is cheap. It should have four faculties: 1. Philosophy and Natural Sciences; 2. Speculative Philosophy and Fine Arts; 3. Medicine; 4. Jurisprudence, Economics, Finance and Government. There should be primary and secondary schools to prepare students for university works, and schools in which useful sciences are taught so that there will never be wanting among the wealthy class men who will not only fill positions, but who will be able to spread the knowledge which is needed for increasing the wealth and prosperity of the nation. The capital of each province should have Chairs of Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics, Veterinary, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, Botany and Experimental Horticulture, etc.³¹

Bonifacio's ideas in regard to slavery and the aborigine population are found in two monographs, *Apontamentos para a Civilização dos Índios*, and *Representação a Constituinte Sobre a Escravatura*, both found in a document of the Brazilian department of agriculture of 1910. He anticipated Lincoln in preaching that a democracy cannot live half free and half slave. The problem of slavery in Brazil was settled as in no other country. It was abolished gradually and without bloodshed. The very close relationship of slavery to the monarchy and to colonialism is the subject of a detailed study being carried on in this country and in Brazil by a Columbia fellow, Mr. Rüdiger Bilden. He has been kind enough to allow me to use certain parts of his excellent and scholarly manuscript. His trenchant statements are the result of careful thought and research. And yet he has no hesitation in saying:

Indeed the ultimate effect of his very fruitful political, scientific and literary activities mark him as the greatest personal factor in the gradual abolition of slavery and in the transmutation of Brazilian energy from which evolved the Brazil of today.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-121.

Bonifacio tore down the humanitarian arguments for the defense of slavery by showing its inconsistency with Christian teaching and with the teachings of fraternity, equality, and liberty. He found slavery incompatible in a state organized on the basis of popular sovereignty. He understood the moral effects upon society of the presence of large numbers of slaves and of slavery as an institution upon the economic and political life of the nation. He says:

But how can there be a liberal and lasting constitution in a country inhabited by an immense multitude of brutal and hostile slaves?

It is time and more than time that we end a traffic so barbarous and cruel; it is time that we should begin to end slavery gradually until it is absolutely eradicated . . . so that in a few generations we may have a homogeneous nation, without which we shall never be free, respected and happy.

It is absolutely essential that we end such physical and social heterogeneity . . . harmonizing . . . discordant elements into a whole . . . which will not crumble at the least touch of political commotions. . . .

Luxury and corruption appeared in Brazil long before civilization and industry, and what is the cause of such a frightful phenomenon? Slavery, gentlemen, slavery, because he who lives on the earnings of his slaves lives in indolence, and indolence brings vice in its wake. Blind cupidity, however, says that slavery is necessary in Brazil because its people are flabby and lazy. They most certainly lie.

He used these humanitarian arguments because he knew there was a class of Brazilians who could be enlisted in a crusade against slavery only on idealistic grounds. In his arguments on the economic unsoundness of slavery Bonifacio showed how far ahead of his day he was and how clearly he understood the relation of slavery to national development. Incidentally, of course, the only argument which could convert slave owners to emancipation would be the economic, and therefore Bonifacio set out to tear down their misconceptions of slavery as a paying business. He spoke of the immense capital invested in slaves who die, who get ill, and who be-

come useless, an investment incommensurate with the profits received.

The labor of slaves in Brazil does not produce the profits with which lazy and fantastic persons deceive themselves.

. . . It either makes one mad or laugh to see twenty slaves carrying twenty sacks of sugar which could be carried in one or two well built wagons drawn by two oxen or mules.

. . . Twenty slaves require twenty hoes, all of which could be saved by one plow.

. . . The state loses because without slavery owners would use more intelligence and industry in caring for the patrimony of the nation.

. . . Our woods full of precious lumber . . . would not be destroyed by the murderous axe of the negro or by the devastating flames of ignorance.

. . . Cochin China has no slaves . . . and yet produced enormous quantities of sugar in 1750 . . . without the necessity of destroying the forests and sterilizing the soil as unfortunately is occurring with us.

Bonifacio realized full well that an abrupt freeing of the slaves was impossible, and he made it a cardinal part of his policy that they be freed gradually. In the many articles of the program he prepared for the assembly he has this gradual emancipation in mind. He says:

I do not wish to see slavery abolished abruptly . . . such an event would bring great evil . . . it is necessary first to make them worthy of freedom.

. . . Make the negroes free and proud, give them incentives, protect them, they will reproduce and become valuable citizens.

He proposed the intermarriage of the negroes and the other races. That has gone on in Brazil and Brazil has no "race" problem. Brazil emancipated its slaves gradually and compensated the slave owners. When slavery was finally abolished in 1888 there was no bloodshed, and the monarchy which depended on it fell the next year.

The third great problem Bonifacio set out to solve was that of the wild Indian. The introduction to the essay on this problem is by General Candido M. da Silva Rondon, the present day apostle to the Indians of Brazil. The occasion was the inauguration in 1910 of the service of protection of the Indians—part of the ceremony was an homage to Bonifacio because this service was based on Bonifacio's program. Rondon says:

The process and the measures recommended by José Bonifacio to realize such a high aim are essentially the same adopted by the Regulations (June 1910), where the dignity, habits and Indian institutions are respected religiously, as well as their life, family and property.

To attract them to the enjoyment of our civilization, the Regulation uses the same means recommended by the Patriarch.

The recommendation never to *force* the Indians to leave their errors and bad habits or force them to heavy and monotonous labors, but better to win their sympathy, friendship and trust, caring for their temporal and physical welfare, is scrupulously respected and followed in the Regulation.

Bonifacio's analysis of Indian psychology and development remind one of Boas's explanations of the conditions that influence the constitution of a population, "heredity, environmental influences and selection". It is unnecessary to recall that Bonifacio lived in the day when race and blood were the universal explanations or excuses for inferiorities and superiorities of, or differences among, peoples. About the Indians of Brazil he says:

Man in the savage stage . . . in Brazil must be lazy; he has few or no needs . . . he has no idea of property, no desires for distinction, no social vanities, which are the powerful springs which put civilized man into action . . . he is stupid . . . [because] everything which does not concern immediately his physical conservation . . . escapes his attention. . . . But the most apathetic man must satisfy his physical and indispensable needs . . . he must repel force with force

. . . war becomes a necessity and a pleasure . . . thence come inveterate hatreds, desires for revenge, and unbridled atrocities.

Bonifacio then makes some general remarks on the process of civilizing the Indian:

The Jesuits knew that with presents, promises and clear and sane reasons, given by practical men in Indian languages, they could do with the savages what they wished. . . . The Indian is a "mere automaton" whose springs can be set in motion by example, education and benefits. . . . They hate us . . . because with the pretext of making them Christians we have done and are doing them great injustices and cruelties.

He proposes in forty-four articles the means for civilizing the Indians. He describes fully the machinery he would set up to accomplish his high aim. It is impossible to reproduce it here because time and space forbid. Every step is marked by common sense, practicality and thoughtfulness for the Indian and for the white alike. Some proposals, such as those relating to intermarriage, seem extreme, but he is careful to recommend all sorts of safeguards to avoid disagreeable results. He develops a system of checks and counter-checks so as to guarantee that the Indian will not be exploited. He is equally anxious that the white too shall not be deceived or injured by the Indian or discriminated against by the government in behalf of the Indian.

Some of these articles are so startling in their modernness that I am quoting them in full. The ones selected are as follows:

1. Justice—purchase their God-given lands.
2. Kindness, consistency and suffering on our part.
3. Trade with savages even at a loss.

7. Send trained missionaries . . . because it was crass ignorance, not to say brutality, to wish to civilize and domesticate Indians by force of arms, with soldiers and officers, mostly without sense, prudence, or morality.

8. To get virtuous, prudent, and educated missionaries it is necessary to guarantee them the proper salaries and necessary privileges.

14. It is necessary to arouse their curiosity and to give them exalted ideas of our power, knowledge, and wealth. It would be expedient for missionaries to take an electrical apparatus . . . to make beautiful and curious experiments in their presence.

20. Besides schools for the three R's schools of arts and trades.

21. Avoid abrupt changes of climate which increase mortality. Choose healthy places. Accustom them slowly to new types of work and to new foods.

25. Missionaries should introduce the plow to lighten burdens of farming.

26. Missionaries should take all precautions to avoid famines.

28. Banks which will pay interest on Indian savings.

35. Vaccination against smallpox.

Bonifacio was not "a prominent republican politician of Brazil", as Roosevelt calls him in his book, *Through the Brazilian Wilderness*. He was not a republican nor a politician. He was much more.

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COLLECTIONS

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PAUL VANORDEN SHAW.

Columbia University.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Mexican Question. Mexico and American-Mexican Relations under Calles and Obregon. By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING. (New York: Robins Press [c1927]. Pp. 205.)

This little book of about two hundred $5 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inch pages attempts to solve a question which has been in existence for more than seventy years, which has been especially troublesome since 1917, and which the best legal talents of two nations have as yet failed to solve. The author simplifies the question materially by stating only one side of it and by basing his answer on opinions reflecting only one point of view. Having adopted this convenient method of treating the problem, he has allotted the few pages at his disposal to three main parts, preceded by foreword and introduction of 20 pages and followed by an appendix of 8 pages.

The introduction describes the Mexican situation from the point of view of the United States and the attitude of President Coolidge toward it. There is much in this that is true. It is obviously written by one who is a thorough believer in the Mexican government and who wishes to see justice done. In it he wins the sympathy of the reader by his appeal for the truth and fair-play.

Part I. describes "Mexico under Calles". These ten chapters were read by President Calles himself, who has written the author a letter in which he states that "they gave a substantially correct presentation of my ideas and program". No wonder that they do when they were written for the Cosmos Editorial Syndicate according to conversations had with President Calles and with members of his cabinet. There is also undoubtedly some truth in these chapters, but they picture conditions in Mexico with much the same roseate hues that one would expect to find in a real estate advertisement, the circular of a travel bureau, or a campaign document issued by a political party.

Part II. deals with "The Mexican Labor Movement, Calles and Obregon", and is evidently an appeal to the labor elements in the United States. It tells how the American Federation of Labor "took very positive and unusual measures in support of the Obregon government", how Samuel Gompers expressed his friendliness and confi-

dence in the Mexican government under Calles; and how organized labor in Mexico bears no tinge of red and has nothing to do with communism, bolshevism, or even of immediate socialism. It describes the history and significance of the organization of the CROM. (Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana) and its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor in the Pan American Federation. The author denies that the present government of Mexico is under a labor-agrarian administration and makes an ineffectual attempt to show that the CROM has no intentions of interfering in politics in spite of the fact that it was responsible for founding the Labor Party. He then devotes three chapters to an analysis of the good points of Article 123 of the Mexican constitution of 1917 and to citations of decisions by the secretary of industry, commerce and labor, Sr. Morones in the settlement of labor disputes under that article. In spite of the fact that in every case cited the decision was in favor of the strikers, the author evidently wishes it to appear that the decisions of Morones were evidences of moderation and of mere friendly interposition of the department of labor. Morones, by the way, is stated elsewhere as being the leader of the CROM. In these chapters the author has failed to make good his contentions, at least he failed to convince the present reviewer.

Part III. purports to be an exposition of "Mexican-American Relations". It seems, however, to be more truly a diatribe against the oil interests and an accusation that under the "Coolidge doctrines" the American government is supporting American capital against Mexican labor at the expense of the American tax-payer. The present reviewer certainly holds no brief for the oil interests and he is naturally sympathetic toward Mexico and the rest of Hispanic America, so he began to read this book hoping that he might find some arguments to support his own point of view. Instead, however, he sees in it little more than the author's personal opinion expressed in ex-parte assertions which may appeal to minds easily swayed by passion, but which tend to injure his case among readers who want facts.

"The Church Question" is disposed of in a short appendix consisting of answers given by President Calles to questions put to him by a group of American interviewers of whom the author was one, and an extract from President Obregon's address of January, 1923

to the Mexican hierarchy. Neither this hierarchy, other members of the Catholic clergy, nor anyone else having knowledge of the other side of the question have been given an opportunity to state their case.

The author has prepared no index. The book is printed on poor paper and is barely saved from the pamphlet category by a cheap looking binding. In make-up and in content it deserves none but an ephemeral interest. In fact, to the present reviewer, it conveys the impression of having been hastily compiled and published for the purposes of propaganda.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Lake Forest College, Illinois.

The true History of the Conquest of Mexico written in the Year 1568 by Captain Bernal Diaz del Castillo, one of the Conquerors, and translated from the original Spanish by MAURICE KEATINGE, Esq. With an introduction by ARTHUR D. HOWDEN SMITH. (New York: Robert McBride and Co., 1927. 2 vols. Pp. VI, [2], 526. Illus.)

The author of this memoir was born in 1492 in Medina del Campo in old Castille. In 1514 he went to the Indies in company with Pedro Arias de Avila and joined Córdoba's expedition to Yucatan. Later he served for a short time under Grijalva, finally enlisting as a common soldier with Cortés for the conquest of Mexico. In that great adventure he fought (so he states) in 119 different engagements, was wounded a number of times, and almost fell prisoner to the Aztecs. At the end of the struggle he obtained a small share of the spoils. But being of a restless nature he subsequently participated in expeditions under Sandoval, Alvarado, Garay and other followers of Cortés, and accompanied the latter to Honduras. At the completion of these campaigns he retired to civil life without apparent interest in recording his adventures until on reading Gómara's biased account of Cortés he determined to depict the story from the viewpoint of the subordinate rather than from that of the leader. When he began his writing in 1568 only five of the participants in the conquest remained alive. He was then *regidor* in Guatemala and his task of writing lasted until 1572.

As a story teller the author has later prototypes in John Smith and "Trader Horn". Writing some fifty years after the conquest he recalled with vividness and simplicity those days so trying for the

conquerors. Cortés was his hero yet he did not hesitate to criticize his actions. The story is so simple and naïve that it has been generally accepted as true.

After his manuscript was completed a copy, which appears to have been made for Philip II. of Spain, reached the hands of Father Alonso Remón, chronicler of the Order of Mercy, who proceeded to edit the work for printing. In the process he emended, interpolated, obscured, and suppressed certain parts mainly for the purpose of magnifying the importance of the part played in the conquest by Padre Olmedo and other friars of the Order of Mercy. The resultant volume appeared in Madrid in 1632. A second Spanish edition with an added chapter—(CCXII but numbered CCXXII)—appeared the same year. The first edition of 1632 has been translated into many languages. In 1800 an English translation by Maurice Keatinge was published in London. The volumes under review are simply a reissue of this edition. Keatinge, while translating, slightly altered some parts of the text and transferred certain passages in order to form a preface.

Some two-hundred and fifty years after the appearance of Remón's edition there was discovered in the archives of Guatemala what has since been declared to be the original manuscript. The Mexican government obtained a facsimile copy in 1895 which Genaro García commenced editing in 1901, and which was published in Spanish in two volumes in 1904. A translation of this edition was made into English by A. Percival Maudslay for the Hakluyt Society and published in Series 2 as volumes 23, 24, 25, 30, 40 (London, 1908-1916).

The work under review is thus a reissue of an inexact translation of a faulty manuscript. But the editor of the Argonaut Series to which the two volumes belong, appears in his rambling and discursive introduction to be unaware of the foregoing bibliographical information. It is the reviewer's opinion that there is really no need for such a product as this, though the fact that the volumes are issued at a semi-popular price will give them a certain utility.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

South America Looks at the United States. By CLARENCE H. HARING.
(New York: Macmillan, 1928. Pp. vii, 243.)

In this small volume Professor Haring has set forth

some of the more general factors that govern the relations between the people of the United States and the nations of the southern continent.

The scope of the work is wider than its title would indicate, for in these pages South America not only looks at the United States but at several other leading nations of the world and, moreover, these nations also look at South America. It must be noted, however, that the book is confined mainly to a brief chronological period. It concerns itself primarily with the years 1918 to 1927.

The work is divided into three parts: an introduction of three chapters, a section of five chapters devoted to the sources of South American distrust of the United States; and a final section of two chapters dealing with the attitude of the respective South American republics toward their Anglo-Saxon neighbor. There are fairly numerous citations to authorities but unfortunately no index.

The first chapter conveys by its title, "The Colossus of the North", the conception of the United States which exists in many South American minds. It presents the territorial and economic expansion of the United States into the Caribbean as the main reason for the existence of such a conception—an explanation which is clearly incomplete as shown by subsequent pages of the work itself—and suggests some factors which may tend to modify this South American view. Among these the author notes certain friendly expressions and disavowals of North American statesmen, the possible influence of certain agencies for the dissemination of news, the significance of Yankee motion pictures—although the author is uncertain whether they will be beneficial or harmful—and, lastly, American-controlled cables and steamship companies and the increasing number of Hispanic-American students in our universities.

Chapter II. presents an optimistic survey of recent economic, political, and social progress in South America. "South America," says Dr. Haring,

stands on the threshold of an era of great promise both material and intellectual, an era not only of increasing European immigration, active exploitation of natural resources, and expanding transportation facilities by land and by sea, but of increasing political stability, hand in hand with the emergence of a genuinely

thoughtful and original culture taking equal rank with that today developing in the Anglo-Saxon America of the north.

With reference to Argentina, Uruguay, southern Brazil, and Chile, perhaps this conclusion is justified, but many doubting Thomases will wag their heads when he attempts to apply it to some of the other republics of the southern continent, which have climatic, racial, and social problems calculated to produce a decided pessimism.

In the third chapter, which he entitles "Inter-American Relations", the author deals almost entirely and, moreover, somewhat inadequately with the Pan-American movement. He appears, however, to have no illusions concerning the difficulties confronted by the movement. He correctly notes that "the stumbling block is our policy of supervision in the Caribbean". He also admits that

the difficulties of reconciling the legitimate interests of large and small states, or of backward states and those more progressive, may be insurmountable.

And, in conclusion, he quotes Dr. George H. Blakeslee's recent suggestion that we fully explain to the South American states each new step in our Caribbean policy—a line of procedure which our statesmen have followed more often than Dr. Haring appears to realize.

In Part II. the author deals with the sources of Hispanic-American suspicion of the United States in a pretty thorough fashion, although he appears to be ignorant of—or at any rate does not often cite—the contributions of other scholars in the United States to this subject. "Barriers of Race", "Economic Penetration", suspicions and criticisms centering around the Monroe Doctrine and the Pan-American movement, propaganda of European antagonists, and certain rival movements, such as the efforts at Hispanic-American Solidarity, Pan-Hispanism, and Pan-Latinism, are all dealt with in a satisfactory fashion. In concluding this section Dr. Haring once more sounds the optimistic note:

Whether or not opinion hostile to the United States is gaining ground in South America is perhaps a debatable question. Beneath the opposition to North American imperialism, or to Pan-Americanism under the leadership of the United States, there is a sincere and widespread desire for harmony and cordial intercourse. There is, however, also a real fear that the northern republic, or at least an influential part of its citizens, does not reciprocate this friendly feeling, but is ever ready to sacrifice the independence or integrity of the Latin-American nations to its own selfish and material ends. Yet despite the fact that past misdeeds seem to speak louder than an occasional gesture of friendship, despite our

abstention from the League of Nations, the writer feels that confidence in the United States during the past decade has probably increased rather than diminished. . . . Given a reasoned and far-sighted diplomacy at Washington, an intelligent and organized propaganda can . . . serve to persuade our southern neighbors that the imperialistic spirit is not a dominating one in this country, but rather a spirit of coöperation and community of interest.

The last two chapters of the volume are based upon the conviction that it is dangerous to make generalizations regarding South America as a whole. "When we come to examine in detail the feeling in the several South American republics toward the United States", says Professor Haring, "we find that underneath a certain resemblance there are sometimes considerable differences." He then proceeds to analyze—adequately for Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, but somewhat inadequately for the other republics—the attitude of each of the South American nations towards the United States. Despite the scanty treatment of Paraguay and the Andean Republics, the reader will find in these two chapters convincing illustration of the author's thesis.

On the whole it may be said that Professor Haring has written a sane and excellent, though brief, survey of the causes for mutual misunderstanding between South America and the United States and presented helpful suggestions for improvement in their reciprocal relations. It is a pity that a work of so high merit was permitted to come forth with so many misprints. Álvarez appears as "Alvárez", Fabela as "Tabela", *fiesta de la raza* as "*día de la raza*", Bautista Saavedra as "Banista Saovedra", to mention only a few of the most obvious errors.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

Catálogo de los Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla (1588-1595). Por D. PEDRO TORRES Y LANZAS. Precedido de una *Historia General de Filipinas*. Por el P. PABLO PASTELLS, S. J. Tomo III. Desde la entrada en Madrid del P. Alonso Sánchez, y decreto de supresión de la Audiencia de Manila, hasta él de su Reposición. (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1928. Pp. ccclv, 129. 30 pesetas.)

According to the colophon, the printing of this volume of the excellent publication being financed by the Tobacco Company in Bar-

celona was finished on January 25 of this year. In it the history of the Philippines is continued by Father Pastells, his narrative covering the interim from the arrival in Madrid of the special envoy of all the estates of Manila, namely, the Jesuit, Alonso Sánchez, and the royal decree suppressing the audiencia of Manila until the restoration of that body in 1595. The documents listed by Torres y Lanzas (Nos. 3455-4491) cover the same period. Both in its mechanical appearance and the excellence of its printing, and in the narrative and listing, the volume is on a par with the two preceding it. The narrative and documents cover much the same ground as the documents presented in parts of Vols. VI. and IX., and all of Vols. VII. and VIII. of Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, but the two works are complementary. In his narrative, as in the two preceding volumes of the series, Pastells cites many documents either in whole or in part, so that his work can be used in part as a prime source. In fact, as a source work lies the chief value of Pastells, for he has not as yet attempted any general synthesis of Philippine history. Among the most important documents cited either in whole or partially by him are the relation by Sánchez in five chapters on the Philippines and conditions ruling therein, their needs, and various remedies suggested (pp. xi-xxv); "Avisos del Padre Alonso Sánchez para el Gobernador Gomez Perez Dasmariñas (pp. xxxv-xxxix); the general memorial presented by Sánchez (see the version in Blair and Robertson which is not from the same source; pp. xl-xlIX); and other general documents of the period which show conditions of the colony. Here are told the progress of the missions, and the great desire of the religious to devote themselves to the conversion of "Great China", the lucrative Chinese trade, the troubles between the ecclesiastical and secular powers, the fear of the Japanese, the fortifying of Manila and the need therefor. The instructions to the energetic governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas who suppressed the audiencia in accordance with the king's decree, the building of the defenses of Manila; the founding of the college of Santa Potenciana; the law prohibiting the natives to wear silks and other Chinese stuffs; hostilities with the Zambals; the attempt to pacify Mindanao; the Cambodian and Japanese embassies in Manila; Morga made assessor: all these and more are related in the documents used by Pastells and his commentary.

The 1036 documents listed by Torres y Lanzas are from many legajos and form, as in the preceding volumes, a distinct adjunct to the narrative part. They cover a crucial period in the European history of the Philippines. During the first three decades since the founding of the Spanish settlement of Cebu, the value of the islands had become manifest, their key position demonstrated, the vast trade possibilities visualized, but above all the hazards due to the very importance of the new colony and the necessity for a whole hearted support from Spain, if the colony were to endure, had made a deep impress on every Spanish inhabitant in the islands. Hence the sending of Sánchez to Spain with instructions from each estate. The chief point in the whole volume is that Sánchez succeeded in his mission and royal support was guaranteed for everything for which he petitioned. The Philippines, in consequence, entered upon a new lease of life and the colony was stimulated in every branch. The audiencia, which had been abolished by petition because it was thought to have been established prematurely, was later reëstablished because of the increased importance of the colony. This is, perhaps the most interesting of the three volumes of the series so far published. Father Pastells should write a one-volume history of the islands when the series is complete in which will be synthesized the Spanish history of the archipelago.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Biblioteca Andina. Part One: The Chroniclers, or, the Writers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries who treated of the pre-Hispanic History and Culture of the Andean Countries. By PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS. (New Haven: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, [1928]. Pp. 271-525 of Vol. xxix. of *Transactions* for May, 1928.)

This is a useful work which has been compiled by one who has been a close student of early Peru for many years. It is the first instalment of a lengthy and ambitious task which the author and compiler has set himself—namely,

to indicate the general content of the vast literature relative to the ancient history and civilization of the people of the Andean area.

He defines the arbitrary term "Andean area" as the territory comprising the present republics of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, the

southernmost portions of Colombia, the westernmost of Brazil, and the northernmost parts of Argentina and Chile. When complete the *Biblioteca Andena* will list and describe all that Mr. Means can discover of the works, ancient and modern, wherein the history and polity of the Andean area in the days prior to the Spanish conquest are discussed. His scheme includes in all four parts, the first three parts with three supplements each, and part IV. with five. The supplements to part I. will be a descriptive list of maps made before 1700, the writers prior to 1700 dealing with native languages, and addenda and miscellanea. Parts II. and III. will deal with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively and their supplements will correspond to those of Part I. Part IV. will deal with the writers since 1900, and in addition to three supplements corresponding to those of the first three parts, will have two more, namely, "The freaks and the quacks who have written concerning the pre-Hispanic history and culture of the Andean countries", and "Final addenda and corrigenda".

In his preface, Mr. Means points out some of the sources to which he has gone for information—bibliographers, library and sales catalogues, encyclopedias, and various other sources—among the last six authors especially, namely, Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, Manuel González de la Rosa, Sir Clements Markham, José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, Dr. Carlos A. Romero, and Dr. Horacio H. Urteaga. In Part I. he discusses 45 authors, alphabetically arranged, beginning with the Jesuit José de Acosta and ending with Austín de Zárate, concerning all of whom he gives much bio-bibliographical information. Throughout are many footnotes that add to the text. The evaluation of the authors especially for the amount of pre-Hispanic information given by them is of value and will find general acceptance. The author is prone, perhaps, to inject his own personality too frequently into his book, and to repeat information (see, *e.g.*, pp. 387-388, where he tells us twice why he summarizes the material on López de Gómara. In speaking of Urbain Chauveton's editions of Benzoni, it would have been better had he noted that the French editor annotates his author considerably and adds considerable extraneous material, although this does not affect the information on Peru. He would have added to the convenience of the reader of his book had he inserted in parentheses the dates or approximate dates of the 45 authors discussed, and it is suggested that he do this in the other three parts of his work.

One of the best features of the book is the last section "Summary of impressions", in which Mr. Means looks at his subject in the broad and draws certain definite conclusions. He divides the authors treated into two general schools—the Toledan and the Garcilaso schools—the first taking its name from Viceroy Francisco de Toledo and seeking to depreciate or undervaluing the Incas and their civilization; the second more nearly following the evaluation of its chief exponent El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. Certain authors, he notes, fail to conform exactly to either school. There may be some disagreement with some of Mr. Means's conclusions, but on the whole they appear valid.

In attempting this ambitious task, Mr. Means has rendered a service to bibliographers and historians alike, for he is bringing together many data for the study of the early Peruvians and their conquerors that will save much time for the investigator. There is probably no one else so well fitted as he to perform this special service for he has given much attention to the study of ancient Peru. That he will be able to complete his program will be desired by all who use this first part.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Silver Cities of Yucatan. By GREGORY MASON. With a Preface by Herbert J. Spinden. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927. Illus. Maps. Pp. xvii, 340.)

The author of this volume is a lecturer and writer who has been connected with several newspapers and periodicals, both in this and in other countries. The Mason-Spinden expedition into Yucatan of which he writes was financed by the *New York Times*. Besides Mr. Mason and Dr. Spinden three other Americans took part in the expedition, namely, Ludlow Griscom, an ornithologist from the American Museum of Natural History, Ogden Travor McClurg (now deceased), a commander in the naval reserves, and a young man named Francis Whiting. The main object of the expedition was the discovery of unknown ruins in Quintana Roo, that part of Yucatan which has not yet been brought entirely under thorough Mexican control. The author gives the events of the expedition in a quite unconventional and pleasant way that makes his book good for popular reading. But notwithstanding the badinage of the five men, one can glimpse the serious work of exploration in which they engaged and the risks which they

took. They never lost sight of their main objectives and despite serious obstacles in their way they were successful far beyond the hopes they must have entertained at the beginning. They found the remains of seven cities, named Muyil, Xkaret, Paalmul, Chakalal, Acomal, Santo Tomás, and Okop; as well as several lesser sites. The author thinks the most outstanding features of the expedition were "the extraordinary subterranean temple at Muyil, the mystifying round tower at Paalmul, . . . the statues guarding temples on Cozumel Island with right arms raised as if forbidding entrance, the hidden city of Xkaret with its protecting wall and its lovely lagoon entrance, and the fine characteristically Maya pyramid temples of Muyil and Okop" (p. 313). They discovered also "that there are in the heart of the Quintana Roo bush two forbidden cities that the Indians 'still use' "—though this latter may mean little beyond the superstitious veneration of the present Maya Indian. The great result of the expedition was the reduction of Maya territory still unexplored. Whether one accepts or not the history of the Mayas as evolved by Spinden and other archaeologists this account of the actual findings of the Mason-Spinden expedition is worth reading, both because of the manner in which it is narrated and because of the concrete archaeological results. Unfortunately, there is no index.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The following list of historical societies in Mexico, Central and South America was compiled by the Pan American Union which has generously consented to its publication in this REVIEW:

ARGENTINA

Buenos Aires

Museo Histórico Nacional
Academia Americana de la Historia
Archivo General de la Nación

Luján

Museo Histórico

San Juan

Museo Histórico y Biblioteca Sarmiento

BOLIVIA

La Paz

Museo Nacional de Historia
Academia Boliviana de Historia, Geografía y Letras
Santa Cruz de la Sierra

Sociedad Geografía e Histórico de San Cruz

Sucre

Biblioteca Nacional

BRAZIL

Aracajó, Sergipe

Instituto Historico e Geographico, de Sergipe

Bahia

Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia

Belém, Pará

Instituto Historico e Geographico

Curitiba, Paraná

Instituto Historico e Geographico do Paraná

Florianópolis

Instituto Historico e Geographico de Santa Catharina

Manáos

Amazonas

Instituto Geographico e Historico de Amazonas

Natal, Rio Grande do Norte

Instituto Histórico e Geographico de Rio Grande do Norte

Parahyba

Instituto Geographico e Historico de Parahyba

Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul

Instituto Historico e Geographico de Rio Grande do Sul

Recife, Pernambuco

Instituto Archeologico e Historico Geographico Pernambuco

Rio de Janeiro

Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro

Museu Historico Nacional

São Paulo

Instituto Historico e Geographico de S. Paulo

São Salvador, Bahia

Instituto Historico da Bahia

Instituto Historico e Geographico da Bahia

CHILE

Santiago

Museo Histórico Nacional

Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía

COLOMBIA

Bogotá

Academia Nacional de Historia

Medellín

Academia Antioqueña de Historia

COSTA RICA

San José

Sociedad de Historia

ECUADOR

Guayaquil

Academia Nacional de Historia

GUATEMALA

Guatemala City

Sociedad Geográfica e Histórica

HONDURAS

Tegucigalpa

Sociedad de Geografía e Historia

MEXICO

Mexico City

Academia Mejicana de la Historia

Academia Nacional de Historia y Geografía

Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología

Sociedad de Estudios Históricos de la Ciudad de México

Mérida

Museo Arqueológico e Histórico de Yucatán

NICARAGUA

Léon

Sociedad Geográfica e Histórica

PANAMA

Panama City

Museo Nacional de Etnografía e Historia

PARAGUAY

Asunción

Archivo Nacional

Instituto Paraguayo

Museo Histórico

PERU

Lima

Archivo Nacional

Instituto Histórico del Perú

Museo de Historia Nacional

SALVADOR

San Salvador

Academia Salvadoreña de la Historia

URUGUAY

Montevideo

Instituto Histórico e Geográfico

Museo Histórico Nacional

VENEZUELA

Caracas

Academia Nacional de la Historia

Archivo Nacional

Sociedad de la Historia

Among the results of the Sixth Pan American Conference was the creation of an inter-American commission of women. In accordance with the direction of the conference, the governing board of the Pan American Union has already appointed several members of the commission. These are the representatives for the United States, Argentina, Colombia, Haiti, Panama, and Venezuela. In order these appointees are Miss Doris Stevens, chairman, Dr. Ernestina A. Lopez de Nelson, Doña Elena Capina de Capina, Mrs. Charles Dubé, Señorita Clara González, and Doña Lucila Luciani de Pérez Díaz. The commission when complete will consist of one representative from each of the twenty-one American republics. The first seven appointed will select those from the other fourteen countries. The commission will make a report to the Seventh Pan American Conference at Montevideo in 1933. As its first subject of investigation, the commission has taken up the question of the nationality of women and of their children.

Under the initiative of Señores J. D. Bojorquez, F. R. Galván, and Dr. Atl, there was formed in Mexico in May, 1928 a "Liga Impulsora del Arte Nacional". The league will foster all manifestations of art in Mexico, including the theater, letters, music, architecture, painting, sculpture, and the popular arts. The coöperation of certain institutions was requested, and the Cervecería Cuahtemoc provided the site for the meetings of the new organization. Various expositions were arranged as follows: June 4-14, Dr. Atl, landscapes, sketches, and stencil work; June 15-25, popular ceramics; June 26-July 4, Señorita Cordelia Vrueta, pictures; July 5-15, sculpture; July 16-26, paintings and drawings of the Tlalpam school. Concerts and addresses are also included in the activities of the organization.

Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, who taught in the University of Wisconsin during summer session, had an article on "Alexander McGillivray, 1783-1789", in the April, 1928, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review*. This was concluded in the last issue of the Review.

The Williamstown School of Politics and all other summer conferences modeled more or less on that school have discussions on Hispanic America. Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of Texas, and Dr. Harry T. Collings, of the University of Pennsylvania, conducted the round table conferences at Williamstown this year. Dr. John H. Latané, of Johns Hopkins University conducted that at the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia.

Dr. Lawrence F. Hill of the University of Ohio has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

Dr. Watt Stewart has accepted a position for the present year at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Dr. Alfred Hasbrouck, who took his degree at Columbia this year is teaching at Lake Forest College near Chicago.

As the copy for this number of the REVIEW goes to the printer, word has been received that Dr. José Toribio Medina, the great bibliogra-

pher, who belongs not alone to Chile, but to the world, is about to visit the United States. He is to sail on the steamship *Aconcagua* on August 22, reaching New York on September 10. Later: Dr. Medina reached New York as above stated, but as he was en route to Spain, he found it impossible to break his journey and stayed in this country but a few hours. It is hoped that he will be able to visit various centers on his return.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

ANOTHER EFFORT FOR A BIBLIOGRAPHIC UNION

The idea of creating a central library or bibliographical union, or similar organization of a series of libraries, having for its object the gathering into one place printed material of all the Americas and making information about such material available to any investigator desiring source material of the Americas has been the subject of resolutions of many congresses and conferences treating on international relations. As early as 1890 the first international conference of American States drafted a resolution to create a central library in the western hemisphere under the collective support of the American republics. Something toward a same or similar end was made the subject of resolutions of the second, third, fourth, and fifth meetings of this organization. Other conferences passing resolutions for the unity of effort in inter-American bibliographical work were: 1st and 2nd Pan American scientific conferences; International Scientific Congress, Buenos Aires, 1910; American Conference of Social Science, Tucumán, 1916; International Social Economy Congress, Buenos Aires, 1924; International Teachers Convention, Buenos Aires, 1928; American Congress of Economic Expansion and Commercial Education, Rio de Janeiro, 1922; Congress of History, Rio de Janeiro, 1922; the Bolivarian Congress, Panama, 1926; the League of Nations; and the American Library Association.

Some bibliographic work has already been done in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, and Peru. The University of Córdoba, in Argentina, during the past year created a bibliographical commission that is intended to be national in scope. In September of last year the government of Bolivia passed a law establishing a national office of bibliography and an inter-American library both to be located in La Paz. The Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación at the National University at La Plata, has established a bibliographic institute that is publishing an "Anuario bibliográfico".

Appreciating the great need for having a coördination of the projects of international bibliographic coöperation, Dr. L. S. Rowe, director general of the Pan American Union at Washington, was instrumental in placing before the Sixth International Conference

of American States at Havana in January of this year the draft of a definite plan, which resulted in the adoption of a resolution that requested the governing board of the Pan American Union to fix the date and place of a meeting of an inter-American commission of expert bibliographers. At the same time the Pan American Union was authorized to communicate with associations, organizations, and private individuals, interested in bibliography, relative to the most effective means of continuing this work; also to formulate the program and undertake the necessary preliminary work for the meeting of the commission.

The report of the special committee appointed to consider this resolution was submitted to the governing board at the meeting on May 2nd, and unanimously approved. The report provides for a permanent committee of the governing board and the appointment of technical coöperating committees in each of the countries, members of the Union, to be composed of outstanding bibliographers. These committees will be asked to undertake a survey of the bibliographical situation in their respective countries, and include suggestions with respect to what is to be done in the future.

The director general is authorized to consult with technical experts in bibliographical work and to ask their advice on the preparation of a memorandum pointing out the subjects to be covered by the survey of national bibliographical situations in the countries of America. With the advice of these technical experts and that of the technical coöperating committees, the director general is authorized to take the necessary steps for the preparation of the meeting of the inter-American commission of expert bibliographers, which will meet at the time and place determined by the governing board.

The advisory board was assembled May 18th for its first meeting at the solicitation of Dr. Rowe. It is composed of Dr. H. H. B. Meyer, acting director, Legislative Reference, Library of Congress, Dr. Ernest C. Richardson, consultant in bibliography and research, Library of Congress, Dr. James A. Robertson, managing editor, *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Professor William R. Shepherd, Columbia University, Professor Alva Curtis Wilgus, University of South Carolina, and Charles E. Babcock, librarian, Pan American Union. The meeting in Washington was to further coöperation in promoting the purposes of the Havana resolution. The board expects

to continue its activities in such manner that this inter-American commission will become an actual working organization to take its place among the group of national and international bibliographic societies that have been established in London, in 1892, in Brussels, in 1895, in Berlin, in 1902, in the United States, in 1904, and in Paris, in 1906.

The resolutions adopted by the Sixth International Conference of American States relative to continental bibliography mentioned above were as follows:

1. To recognize that the organization of a continental bibliography is a much felt necessity for the intellectual progress of America; for the knowledge and proper appreciation of all those who labor on the continent for that purpose, and for the solidarity of thought which must create one of the strongest bonds of union among all the nations of America.

2. To recommend the meeting of a technical commission made up of expert bibliographers selected from the various American countries.

The Pan American Union is charged with taking up with the associations, organizations, and individuals interested in bibliographical work, the means of giving effect to the present resolution.

The Pan American Union is further charged with the duty of formulating the program of the meeting and of undertaking the necessary preparatory work.

The governing board of the Pan American Union will fix the place and date at which this commission of expert bibliographers will meet.

The Pan American Union is further charged with the duty of putting into effect the plan of inter-American coöperation that may be suggested by the technical commission provided for by this resolution.

The report of the governing board of the Pan American Union alluded to above is as follows:

1. The special committee appointed by the governing board shall continue as a permanent committee entrusted with carrying out the plan of organization of coöperation in bibliographical matters, which is recommended in the present report.

2. The permanent committee shall request the governments of the states, members of the Pan American Union, through their respective representatives on the governing board, to appoint a technical coöperating committee in each of the countries, to be composed of outstanding bibliographers, including the director of the national library and the director of the national archives.

3. The technical coöperating committees shall be asked to prepare a survey of the bibliographical situation in each country. This survey shall include all work done in bibliographical matters up to the present. Although this survey is to be a kind of inventory of the existing sources of bibliography in each country, it may also include suggestions with respect to what is to be done in the future. The

director general of the Pan American Union shall be authorized to keep in constant communication with the technical coöperating committees.

4. The director general of the Pan American Union is authorized to consult with technical experts in bibliographical work and ask their advice on the preparation of a memorandum pointing out the subjects to be covered by the survey of national bibliographical situations in the countries of America which is to be requested from the national committees.

5. The director general is authorized to take all the necessary steps for the preparation of the meeting of the inter-American commission of expert bibliographers. The first step will be the drafting of the agenda, which will be done with the advice of the technical experts referred to in paragraph four, and with the collaboration of the technical coöperating committees which will be invited to make suggestions. When the agenda of the meeting of the commission has been approved by the governing board of the Pan American Union, the governing board will fix the place and the time for the meeting.

At the meeting of the American Library Association at West Baden, Indiana, in May of this year, the North American group passed the following resolutions:

A. RESOLVED, That this group desires to express its cordial and sincere gratification over the action taken at the Sixth International Conference of American States at Havana in January, 1928, establishing an inter-American technical commission of bibliography. It welcomes this as one more step toward practical coöperation in standardizing bibliographical and library methods and as offering a prospect of substantial coöperation between scholars and libraries throughout the Americas.

B. RESOLVED, That this group favors the following:

1. The exchange of library personnel, including students of library science, librarians and assistants in libraries, teachers of librarianship, and special lecturers upon topics of library work and bibliography, with provision for fellowships and scholarships to facilitate such exchange.

2. The liberal exchange of publications through an enlargement of the service of the bureau of international exchanges in our respective countries, and other existing agencies for exchange of books. We have in mind the exchange of documents of the federal governments of the several states and of municipalities; the exchange of publications between institutions of learning, and the exchange of duplicates between libraries.

3. The full exchange of bibliographical information. [The Mexican delegation states that it will undertake the publication of a monthly list of all government and private publications as a contribution to Mexican contemporary bibliography, through the bibliographical section of the library department of the ministry of education of Mexico.]

4. The inclusion of Mexican libraries in the Library of Congress lists of special collections.

5. A suggestion to the librarian of Congress to extend the information service for scholars as to the location of books, to locations in Mexico of Mexican titles not to be found in the United States.

6. The taking of steps looking toward the adoption of uniform catalogue rules for all countries.

7. The exchange of exhibits between Mexico, the United States, and Canada, illustrating the cultural development of the several countries.

8. Giving every possible encouragement to the translation into Spanish of library publications issued in the United States which are likely to be useful in Spanish-speaking countries.

9. The preparation of brief lists of American books, especially children's books, for use in Mexican libraries and for translation into Spanish.

10. A request that librarians of the United States give encouragement and aid in the development of the department of the National Library of Mexico devoted to books about the United States of America.

11. A request to the children's librarian section of the A. L. A. to form a collection of children's books published in the United States and to send it, completely catalogued, to the Lincoln Library in Mexico.

12. The participation of Mexican librarians as members of the A. L. A. in all its activities as a means of promoting professional progress and intellectual coöperation.

13. The publication of the proceedings of this group in both Spanish and English.

14. In view of the opportunities for international coöperation revealed by this conference, we express the hope that future conferences may be held which will include representatives from the libraries of all the Americas.

At a meeting of the Advisory committee on June 20, 1928, after considerable discussion, the topics of the agenda adopted were as follows:

CONCRETE PROJECTS

1. A comprehensive all-American bibliography: a. Books printed in the Americas; b. Books by American writers; c. Books about the Americas.

This bibliography to be produced by coöperative means, *i.e.*, national bibliographies by each nation on a standardized method worked out by the all-American commission.

2. A critical bibliography. [See statement below by A. Curtis Wilgus.]

3. An all-American union finding list (catalogue) as the best concrete basis for bibliographies and as the necessary instruments of inter-library lending and information service: (1) printed bibliographies; (2) codices and volume manuscripts; (3) serial documents.

This is to be worked out nationally, but with a view to combining in a few regional libraries and ultimately a world list.

4. The first project needed: full and standardized lists of current publications including government publications.

5. A bibliography of Hispanic American bibliographies, completing present essays.
6. The promotion of special bibliographies: especially indexes to periodicals, etc.
7. Select lists of best national books.
8. Guides to newspapers and periodicals.
9. Guides to publishers.
10. Guides to publishing societies.
11. Organization of intellectual producers.
12. Copyright.
13. Guides to libraries.
14. Guides to manuscript collections and archives.
15. International cataloguing rules.

The chairman of the committee stated that Mr. H. W. Wilson, president of the H. W. Wilson Company of New York, had stated that his company is ready to publish a "Cumulative Book Index" for Hispanic America whenever coöperation can be obtained from the Hispanic American publishers and when there is reasonable assurance that the venture will ultimately prove profitable.

CHARLES E. BABCOCK.

Librarian, Pan American Union.

STATEMENT CONCERNING THE CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORY

During May and June progress was made in creating an editorial staff for the bibliography. By June 15 the following persons had consented to act as Section Editors: Dr. C. K. Jones and Mr. C. E. Babcock (Bibliographical and Historical Introduction); Dr. P. A. Martin (Colonial Brazil); Dr. W. S. Robertson (Revolutions for Independence, 1808-24); Dr. C. E. Chapman (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay since 1824); Dr. N. A. N. Cleven (Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies since 1824); Dr. Mary W. Williams (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay since 1824); Dr. I. J. Cox (International Relations since 1824). Dr. James A. Robertson is acting in the capacity of Advisory Editor.

Early in May Dr. Rowe, director general of the Pan American Union, in accordance with a resolution concerning bibliographical coöperation in the Americas adopted at the Havana conference, appointed a United States advisory committee. On June 20 that committee made several recommendations in regard to the agenda among which was the decision to accept the Critical Bibliography as topic 2 of the agenda and to make it the subject of a special letter in Spanish to each of the coöperating advisory committees in the American republics. The substance of the letter as sent reads as follows:

1. The work is to be a coöperative undertaking among scholars in the American republics and other countries.

2. The number of volumes in the series will be determined by the editorial staff composed of the managing editor, the advisory editors, and the section editors.

3. The time needed to complete the entire work is estimated at from ten to fifteen years.

4. No publishing arrangements will be definitely made until an editorial staff is formed.

5. Every phase of Hispanic American civilization and culture will be treated bibliographically.

6. The task of each section editor will be, in general, to arrange for the collection of bibliographical data and to organize the material submitted by the several persons collecting data in that section.

7. The advisory editors will be available for advice and aid whenever called upon by persons collecting bibliographical data, and will supervise the final arrangement of subject matter by volumes.

8. The managing editor will, in general, oversee the work of investigation, correlation of critical data, and publication of volumes.

9. All volumes will be published in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, and will be as nearly uniform as regards format as is practicable. Each volume will be complete within itself and duplication of data will be eliminated by cross-references.

10. The HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW and the *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union will be the media for the publication of information regarding the progress of this plan.

A statement somewhat similar to the above is to be presented by Dr. Cleven to the Historical meeting at Oslo during the summer.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

NOTES

Dr. F. W. Hodge, of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, has had a reprint made of the English translation of Antonio Espejo's *New Mexico*. The work was done at Lancaster, Pennsylvania (1928), by the Lancaster Press, Inc., and the edition is limited to 200 numbered copies. The title page of the old volume serves also for this reproduction. This is as follows:

[Ornament] // NEW MEXICO. // Otherwise, // *The Voiage of Anthony of* // ESPEJO, who in the yeare 1583. with // his company, discovered a Lande of 15. // *Provinces, replenished with Townes and vil-* // *lages, with houses of 4. or 5. stories height.* // *It lieth Northward, and some suppose* // *that the same way men may by pla-* // *ces inhabited go to the Lande* // *tearmed De Labrador.* // Translated out of the Spanish copie prin- // ted first at Madreal [*sic*], 1586. and afterward // at Paris, in the same yeare. // [ornament] // *Jmripinted at London for* // Thomas Cadman. //

The only material not in the old edition is the notice of the size of the edition on the verse of the title, the preface by Dr. Hodge (pp. 3-4), and the printer's imprint (p. [38]). In his short preface, which is couched in the quaint English of the translation, Dr. Hodge says:

More as a literarie & historicall cvriosity then as a contributiō to ovr knowledge of the coutries thorow which Anthony of Espejo traualled in the yeares of 1582 & 1583, this Voiage is priuately imprinted verbatim et literatim, & for ye same reason it is not accompanied with ye elucidation any one might otherwise reasonably expect.

The translation, he notes "lackes mvch of accuracie" but promises the possibility of an account

appertaininge vnto ye same iourny into ye prouinces of New Mexico & Arizona, . . . by an other who went theron and which heretofore has not been giuen ye light of daie. Shoud this bee done, the narratiō will bee amply elucidated & therby renderd of greater seruice to stvdents of ye prouinces afore said.

Meanwhile, Dr. Hodge says, the "*Voiage of Anthony of Espejo*" is available in both Spanish and in

"ye English translation by Maister *Herbert Eugene Bolton*, Scholar, of ye Uniuersitie of California, in his excelent *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest 1542-1706*.

The only known copy of the original English edition is that in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. It formerly belonged to the Christie-Miller collection. Dr. Hodge's new book will be eagerly awaited. The *Voiage* is excellently printed on special paper and bound in board; and will doubtless be eagerly sought by book collectors.

The República de Panamá published at the Imprenta Nacional in 1927 the Proceedings of the Pan American Congress of 1926 under the title *Congreso Pan-Americano conmemorativo del de Bolívar, 1826-1926*, in a large volume of 959 pages. Much of it will suffer unfortunately the fate of government published materials and remain a rich mine with comparatively few prospectors. The first part of the volume is concerned with the preliminaries and business part of the conference, as follows: Ley y decretos expedidos sobre conmemoración del primer centenario del congreso, su reglamento y organización; Invitaciones y respuestas en relación con el envío de las delegaciones al congreso; Notas respondiendo a invitación hecha para que asistan como huéspedes especiales del gobierno de Panamá y de la comisión organizadora del congreso; Personal de las embajadas, misiones especiales, delegaciones invitado de honor y miembros observadores que participaron en el congreso; Cartas autógrafas del presidente de Panamá y de los presidentes de los Países bolivarianos; discursos pronunciados por los embajadores de Venezuela, Perú y Ecuador, al presentar credenciales y contestaciones del presidente de Panamá; Comisión de atenciones declaratoria de huéspedes de honor, actos acordados con motivo de la reunión del congreso y nómina de dignitarios; Discursos y otros actas que tuvieron lugar durante la sesión inaugural del congreso; Actas de las sesiones del congreso en que se discutieron temas interesantes; Resoluciones aprobadas por el congreso, que evidencian el noble fin que inspiró su reunión y un elevado sentimiento de confraternidad; Interesantes cablegramas relacionadas directamente con el congreso, y sus contestaciones; Resumen de las festividades habidas en Panamá con motivo de la celebración del centenario del congreso; and Organización interna del congreso y actas de las sesiones de las comisiones. The "Trabajos presentados o enviados durante las sesiones del Congreso", all of which appear in this volume, were as follows: "La Liga de las Naciones Americanas y el Problema de las Razas", by Agustín Cueva, of Ecuador; "Idea

de una Liga que corresponda a los Conceptos Panamericanos del Congreso de Bolívar", by Guillermo Andreve, of Panama; "Idea de una Liga que responda a los Conceptos Pan-Américanos de Bolívar", by Miguel Ángel Carbonel, of Cuba; "Seguridad Americana", by Juan Rivera R., of Panama; "Corte de Arbitramento Latino-Americano", by Dr. Cesar V. Miranda, of Salvador; "Idea de una Liga que corresponda a los Conceptos panamericanos del Congreso de Bolívar", by C. Puig V.; "Simón Bolívar a la luz de la Sociología", by Dr. Francisco Cosentini, of Panama; "The Development of John Quincy Adams's Policy with respect to an American Confederation and the Panama Congress, 1822-1825", by Dr. Charles W. Hackett, one of the delegates from the United States; "Idea de una Liga que corresponda a los Conceptos Panamericanos del Congreso de Bolívar", by Narciso Garay, of Panama; "Genesis y Desarrollo histórico del Ideal internacional de Bolívar", by S. Jiménez Arrechea; "La Universidad Bolivariana de Panamá", by Dr. Octavio Méndez Pereira, of Panama; "Bases para la Organización de la futura Universidad Panamericana de Bolívar", by Dr. Gustavo Ríos Bridoux, of Bolivia; "The University of Bolívar as a Center of Pan American Influence", by Dr. L. S. Rowe, director of the Pan American Union; "Compilación Bolivariana", by Dr. Eduardo Posado, of Colombia; "The Gorgas Memorial", by Dr. Franklin Martin; "The Need for Coöperative Bibliography", by Dr. James A. Robertson; "Bases constitutivas para la Formación del Instituto de Propaganda Intelectual Americana", by Aquiles B. Oribe; "Pan-American Bibliographic Union", by Charles E. Babcock, Librarian of the Pan American Union; "Influencia del Congreso Bolivariano en el Desarrollo del Derecho Internacional", by Juan de D. García Kohly, of Cuba; "Panamá como Centro de Intercambio Americano", by Dr. Harry T. Collings, of the University of Pennsylvania; "Influencia del Congreso de Bolívar sobre el Panamericanismo actual", by Eloy G. González; "Panama and the Problem of human Migration", by John C. Mirriam; "Influencia del Canal de Panamá en el Desarrollo de América, desde el Punto de Vista higiénico", by Professor L. Avendaño, of Peru; "Influencia del Canal de Panamá en el Desarrollo de América desde el Punto de Vista científico", by James Zetek, of the University of Illinois; "Influence of the Canal on the Development of America from the commercial Standpoint", by William A. Reid, of the Pan Amer-

ican Union; "Discurso pronunciado en homenaje al Congreso Americano de Panamá de 22 de Junio de 1826", by Tito V. Lisoni, of Chile; "Conferencia dictada en el Aula Máxima del Instituto Nacional de Panamá", by Salvador Mendieta; "El Congreso de Panamá ante el Concepto Norte-Americano en 1826", by Ricardo C. Alfaro, of Panama; "El Congreso de Panamá", by Dr. Alfonso Robledo, of Colombia; "El Congreso Bolivariano", by C. Arrocha Graell; "Bolívar, Orador, Pensador y Apostol", by Octavio Méndez Pereira; "Simon I Rey de las Américas", by Laureano Vallenilla Lanz. The last part of the volume is composed of a long section entitled "La Voz de la Prensa. Recopilación de cuanto se ha publicado en los periódicos locales y extranjeros, con ocasión de reunirse en Panamá el Congreso Conmemorativo del de Bolívar". This is a convenient compilation from which the views of many editors may be gleaned. Even from this cursory examination of the report of the conference, its importance is manifest.

The Pan American Union has issued a mimeographed list of "Bibliographies pertaining to Latin America in the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union". In his prefatory note, the Librarian, Charles E. Babcock, who compiled the list states that the list includes only those bibliographies found in the library of the Pan American Union, but that "within that classification it is a complete catalogue". All bibliographical lists published as part of a book have, however, been omitted. Arrangement is by countries of publication. Under Argentina are listed 35 titles; Bolivia, 5; Brazil, 30; Chile, 41; Colombia, 3; Costa Rica, 7; Cuba, 29; Dominican Republic, 1; Ecuador, 8; England, 4; France, 5; Guatemala, 5; Honduras, 1; Mexico, 32; Panama, 1; Paraguay, 2; Peru, 14; Salvador, 1; Spain, 10; United States, 107; Uruguay, 4; Venezuela, 7. Presumably lists may be procured up to the limit of the edition.

Señor Genaro Estrada, subsecretary of Foreign relations of Mexico, has recently published a small volume entitled *Episodios de la Diplomacia en Mexico*, under the imprint of the Imprenta de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. This will be noted more at length in another number of this REVIEW.

As its 500th catalogue, Maggs Bros. of London have issued the following: *A Selection of Books, Manuscripts, Engravings, and Autograph Letters remarkable for their Interest & Rarity* (London, 1928). This is a large quarto size volume of 357 pages and contains much excellent bibliographical information. Some of the titles refer to Hispanic America. Part VII. of the *Bibliotheca Americana*, which is Catalogue No. 502, continues the titles from Catalogue No. 479 K Part V). The titles are arranged chronologically. Catalogue No. 496 (Part VI), containing books on America in Spanish, is numerated independently. Many titles relate to Hispanic America. These seven volumes, as well as No. 500 noted above should be in the library of the student of Hispanic American history.

A Spanish edition of Lockey's *Pan-Americanism: Its Beginnings*, has appeared under the title: *Origenes del Panamericanismo* por Joseph Byrne Lockey, profesor auxiliar de Historia en la Universidad de California, Los Angeles. Versión Castellana, con anotaciones, dispuesta por la Camara de Comercio de Caracas en conmemoración del Primer Centenario del Congreso de Panamá. Caracas, Impreso el Cojo, 1927.

The Hispanic Society of America has published this year *A Grammar of the Portuguese Language* (Washington, National City Press), a volume of 669 pages. This is the work of Joseph Dunn, professor of Celtic in the Catholic University of America. The author says (Preface, p. vii):

The purpose of this book is to provide a rather complete descriptive grammar for such as may desire an intelligent acquaintance with the Portuguese language. It contains all the grammar needed by the ordinary student of modern Portuguese and, in addition, enough of the obsolete forms to enable him to read the poets of the classic period. The standard speech of Portugal has been taken as the norm, but Brazilian, dialectic, and colloquial usages have been noted whenever necessary.

This is a welcome addition to the tools for the study of Portuguese. There are not many Portuguese grammars available to the student and he has often been compelled to import his Portuguese study books from abroad. The present grammar will be found of use not only for the person who wishes to acquire a practical reading knowledge of the language, but also for him who intends to study the language deeply.

It might be of service were the author to make also a thin volume in which are given only the grammatical forms needed by him who wishes to read Portuguese as an aid in his study of history and other subjects; and does not care to study Portuguese intensively as a language.

The Macmillan Company has recently (July, 1928) published too small volumes which are intended as collateral reading in studying Spanish. One is *La Vida de un Pícaro*, and is by Juan Cano, Ph.D., assistant professor of Italian and Spanish in the University of Toronto. Of it the editor tells us that it is "original in arrangement and exposition." The first three chapters and the last incidents of the story are adapted from the *Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes*; chapter IV is original, with the exception of one incident which is adapted from chapter XV of *Lazarillo de Tormes*; chapter V is partly adapted from Quevedo's *Historia de la Vida del Buscón* (chapters V and VI), partly original, and partly adapted from *Lazarillo* and *Gil Blas*. The text is slightly annotated, and there are various exercises and a vocabulary. The other book, *Los Abencerrajes*, consists of two old Spanish stories, edited with notes (and as the first, with direct-method exercises and vocabulary), by J. P. Wickersham Crawford, professor of Romance languages in the University of Pennsylvania. The first story appeared in print in 1565 and "was based on an earlier version by an author whose name is not known". The second story is from the *Guerras civiles de Granada* published in 1595. Both stories are adapted and simplified in language.

The two pamphlets named below compiled in 1923 by Dr. Lowell Joseph Ragatz, of George Washington University list some material relative to Hispanic America:

A Guide to the official Correspondence of the Governors of the British West India Colonies with the Secretary of State, 1763-1833.

A Check-List of House of Commons sessional Papers relating to the British West Indies and to the West Indian Slave Trade and Slavery, 1763-1834.

Both pamphlets were printed in London by the Bryan Edwards Press.

The Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica Hispano Americana by Alberto and Arturo García Carraffa, will have a total of 45 or 50

volumes. More than half the work has been completed and the remaining volumes are expected to be published in about three years. The work contains many illustrations in color of coats of arms.

The Hispanic Society of America has published recently:

Incunabula in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America—Aguilar, Abbot of Sermo (*Ca.* 1498?). Pp. 7.

Alfonso X, el Sabio, King of Castilla and Leon: *Las Siete Partidas*. Pp. 18.

Fernando de Almeida: *Oratio* (*Ca.* 1493?). Pp. 3.
Manuscripts in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America—Alfonso Rodríguez of Zaragoza. Pp. 16.

Pareja in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America—Don Martin de Leyva. Pp. 12.

Escalante in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America. Pp. 8.

Pereda in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America. Pp. 10.

The Venezuelan government has recently acquired a collection of important historical documents, consisting of 46 volumes of Archives from the *Apostadero* of Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, under the régime of Admiral Don Ángel Laborde y Navarro, for the period immediately preceding and during the revolutionary wars. It is understood that these archives have been sent to the ministry of public instruction and that they are to become part of the library of the Venezuelan Academy of History. The materials are said to throw much new light upon local conditions in the early part of the nineteenth century, as well as upon the relations between Venezuela and the other Spanish colonies in the Caribbean.

The division of documents of the Library of Congress is now receiving currently the following official gazettes from Mexican states:

Aguascalientes: *Labor libertaria*.

Chihuahua: *Periódico oficial*.

Coahuila de Zaragoza: *Periódico oficial*.

Colima: *El Estado de Colima: periódico oficial*.

Durango: *Periódico oficial*.

Guerrero: *Periódico oficial*.

Jalisco: *El Estado de Jalisco; periódico oficial*.

Nuevo León: *Periódico oficial*.

Sinaloa: *Periódico oficial*.

Sonora: *Boletín oficial*.

Tabasco: Periódico oficial.

Tamaulipas: Periódico oficial.

Vera Cruz-Llave: Gaceta oficial.

Yucatan: Diario oficial.

A noteworthy acquisition of the division during 1927 was the following:

Tacna Arica Plebiscitary Commission: For the period of its activity, the American consul at Arica obtained files of *La Voz del sur* and *El Pacífico*, together with *Justicia*, *organo de la Delegación jurídica del Perú en el Plebiscito de Tacna y Arica*.

The Cuban chargé d'affaires at Port-au-Prince sent to the division an extensive collection of Haitian historical material, including proclamations, signed documents, and photographs of the presidents.

The *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* of Caracas, Venezuela, published material as listed below in several recent numbers; No. 39 (July-September, 1927)—“El Archivo del Generalísimo”; “Los Hijos del General Miranda”, by Eduardo Posada; “Tras la Pista de Leleux”, by Eloy G. González; “Un alegato famoso”, by N. E. Navarro; “Doctor Manuel Díaz Rodríguez”, by S. Key Ayala; “El General La Torre en Puerto Cabello” and “[The same] en Puerto Rico”, by Cayetano Coll y Toste; “Orígenes venezolanos. Relación geográfica y descripción de la Provincia de Caracas y Gobernación de Venezuela” (continued); “Documentos relativos a la Historia colonial de Venezuela (continued, and running also through the numbers mentioned below); “Libros Argentinos” (a note of the books presented to Caracas by the Comisión Protectora); “Bustos de Venezolanos ilustres en Buenos Aires”; “Catálogos de Folletos de la Academia Nacional de la Historia (also continued in the numbers noted below). No. 40 (October-December, 1927)—“Bolívar en el Solar de sus Abuelos”, by P. Hipolito de Larrakoctxea; “Discurso de Don Andrés Ponte”; “Himno a Simón Bolívar”, by Maturana y Batir; “El General La Torre en Puerto Cabello” (concluded); “Ana Hernández de Bolívar”, by Fray Cipriano de Utrera; “Viaje a la Parte oriental de Tierra Firme”, by Francisco Depons (continued in the succeeding number); “Bello, Irisarri y Egaña en Londres”, by Guillermo Feliú Cruz (continued in the next number). No. 41 (January-March, 1928)—“Recepción pública de Don Luís Correa”; “Discurso”, by Eloy G. González; “Palabras del Dr. P. M. Arcaya”;

Archivo del General Miranda"; "Recepción del Dr. Cristóbal L. Mendoza"; "Discurso", by Dr. Nicolás E. Navarro; "Colegio Chaves", by Dr. N. E. Navarro.

The *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* of Caracas, Venezuela, is edited by José E. Machado. No. 16 (July 1, 1927) contains: "Biblioteca Circulante"; "Autobiografía del Ilustrísimo Señor Doctor Don Pedro Antonio Gorres"; "Cartas inéditas del Libertador"; an extensive note on the books presented to the library by the Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares of Buenos Aires, which has given so many books to foreign governments and libraries; "Lista de algunos periódicos que vieron la luz en Caracas desde 1808 a 1900". No. 17 (October 1, 1927): "Gaceta de Caracas"; "Humboldt según Boussingault"; "Apuntaciones sobre una Biblioteca"; "El Día del Libro"; "Recuerdos de medio Siglo atrás"; "Documentos para la Historia de la Biblioteca Nacional", which relate to a gift of books made to the library by the Director of the Biblioteca Nacional of Uruguay; and the continuation of the "Lista" mentioned above. No. 18 (January, 1928): A note on the *Correo del Orinoco*; "Nueva Edición del Quijote"; "El Yate de Byron" (called Bolívar); "Apuntes sobre una Biblioteca"; "Índice alfabético de las Cartas contenidas en los Tomos de I a XII de la Colección O'Leary"; Despachos militares del gran Mariscal de Ayacucho Don Antonio de Sucre"; "Biografía de Impresores célebres: Esteban Dolet", by Henry Lewis Bullen. No. 19 (April 1, 1928): "Apuntes sobre una Biblioteca"; "Diario de Barranquilla cuando estuvo cerca del Libertador"; "Lista de Seudónimos y Anónimos en la Literatura y en la Política Venezolanas"; "Impresores Venezolanos; Valentín Espinal"; "La Muerte del General José Félix Ribas", by L. A. Zaraza.

Cultura Venezolana for December, 1927, contains the following: "Crítica . . . y críticos", by Pedro Enríquez Ureña; "Los procesos criminales contra las brujas", by Dr. Ladislav Thot; "La Ciudad del poeta", by Alberto Gernuchoff; "La Pena mórbida", by Alejandro Fuenmayor; "Años de aprendizaje de Simón Bolívar", by Pedro-Emilio Coll; "Siete cartas de don Simón Bolívar"; "El Río Apure", by Ramón Páez. The number (86) for January-March, 1928, contains: "Tradiciones de Carabobo", by Eloy G. González; "Expe-

dición de los Cayos", by Vicente Lecuna; "El Bolívarismo de Juan Vicente González", by Luís Correa; and "La Reforma educacional en Chile", by Mariano Picón Salas.

The Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos for November-December, 1927, has articles as follows: "Los Métodos modernos en la Enseñanza de la Historia", by José de J. Núñez y Domínguez; "El llamado Planchón de las Figuras, en el Estado de Chiapas", by Federico K. G. de Müllerried; "Una Pintura desconocida de Mitla", by Alfonso Caso; "Dos Documentos inéditos relativos a Sigüenza", by Dorothy Schons; "Carta de Examen de un Maestro Herrero", by Enrique A. Cervantes, and "Las Relaciones de Cholula, Culhuacan, Teotxacualco y Amoltepeque". January-February, 1928: "El Origen del Jeroglífico Maya Akbal", by German Beyer; "El Colateral de Sto, Domingo en la Ciudad de Puebla", by Enríque A. Cervantes; and "El Ciclo legendario del Tepoztecatl", by Pablo González Casanova. March-April: the last article above continued; "El Ladrillo como Material de Construcción entre los Pueblos Nahuas", by Eduardo Noguera. Through the last two numbers above mentioned runs "Selección de Documentos referentes a Mexico, sacada de dos Volúmenes de la Colección de Extractos de Belmonte existentes en el Archivo de Indias", by Francisco A. de Icaza.

No. 1 Vol. III of *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* (published in Havana under the editorship of Dr. Fernando Ortiz) has the following: "Nuestra Señora de la Caridad del Cobre", by Irene A. Wright; "La Canción de Mambrú", by Manuel Toussaint; "Un Guacilito de Cubanismos", by Juan Marinello Vidaurreta; "Los Negros Curros—Sus caracteres: El Lenguaje", by Fernando Ortiz; "Los Pañitos de la 'Virgen de Jiquiabo'", by H. Portell Vilá; "El Folklore del niño Cubano" (continued), by Sofía Córdova de Fernández; "Juegos infantiles Cubanos", by Lea Rodríguez. No. 2: "La púdica Tradición de la Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre", by Guillermo González y Arocha; "La Avispa de la Jía", by Felipe Poe; "Romancerillo de Entrepeñas y Villar de los Pisones", by Carolina Poncet de Cárdenas; "Cham Bom-Biá, el Médico Chino", by Herminio Portell Vilá; Los Negros Curros—sus Caracteres: El Lenguaje", by Fernandez Ortiz; "La Copla política en Cuba"; "El Burro de Bainoa"; "Juegos infantiles", by Herminio Portell Vilá.

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly for January, 1928, presents the following: "A judicial Auction in New Orleans", translated from the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana at the Cabildo, New Orleans, by Miss Laura L. Porteous, with an introduction by Henry P. Dart; and the continuation of the "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana", also by Miss Porteous. This is a most valuable work and will doubtless find increasing use.

In its *Anales* for 1925 (Vol. VII.), the Academia de la Historia of Cuba, in addition to the minutes of the meetings, contains: "La Caleta del Barco", by Joaquín Llaverías; "Pinar del Río—Informes acerca del proyectado cambio de Nombre de la Provincia de Pinar del Río por el de Occidente", by Emeterio S. Santovenía and Tomás de Jústiz; "El Escudo de Alquizar", by F. de P. Coronado and Joaquín Llaverías; address of welcome to Dr. Adolfo Bonilla San Martín by Dr. Salvador Salazar de Roig and the address by the former; "Un Soldado y Conspirador por Gerardo Castellanos G"; "Consideraciones alrededor del Generalísimo Máximo Gómez", by Dr. Jesús Saíz de la Mora; "Genesis y evolución de la Doctrina de Monroe", by Roque E. Garrigo y Salido; "Léxico Cubano—Contribución al Estudio de las Voces que lo forman", by Dr. Juan Miguel Dihigo.

Two eulogies on deceased members were pronounced at the solemn session of the Academia de la Historia of Cuba held on the night of March 14, 1928: the first on Sr. Domingo Figarola-Caneda, by Dr. Juan Miguel Dihigo y Mestre, and the second on Dr. Sergio Cuevas Zequeira, by Dr. José Antonio Rodríguez García. These eulogies have both appeared in print. The first is entitled *Elogio del Sr. Domingo Figarola-Caneda, individuo de número, leído por el Dr. Juan Miguel Mihigo y Mestre, académico de número, en la sesión solemne celebrada en la noche del 14 de Narzo de 1928* (Havana, 1928). In his discourse, Dr. Dihigo y Mestre gave a short résumé of the life of Sr. Figarola-Caneda, who was the founder of the Academy in 1910, and its moving spirit and director of its publications. He was also director of the national library of Cuba which he founded. He was indefatigable in his work and in all respects a prominent figure in Cuban letters. A list of his writings and compilations is included in the eulogy. As an appendix to the eulogy are given various opinions regarding Figarola-

Canada. The second is *Elogio del Dr. Sergio Cuevas Zequeira, individuo de número, leído por el Dr. José Antonio Rodríguez García* (Havana, 1928). Dr. Cuevas Zequeira, who was a Porto Rican by birth, lived during much of his life in Cuba, where he attained renown as a journalist.

The June number of the Bulletin of the Pan American Union contains an appreciation of Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima. The same number contains an article by Louise F. Shields on the Panamerican interchange of plants, one by James J. Davis on science and the workman, and C. M. Tucker has one on the diseases of plants in tropical America. S. A. Courtis discourses on individual instruction, and Samuel J. Crumbine on the importance of a pure milk supply. The sections of this number treating of agriculture, industry, and trade, of economic and financial matters, and of public instruction and education are especially of interest.

The booklet published by the Pan American Union, namely, *Viajando por los Estados Unidos*, in 1925, will be found very useful by travelers from Spanish American countries. Among the recent educational pamphlets issued by the Union are the following: *Movimiento de Amistad internacional en las Escuelas de California* (February, 1928); *El Ahorro escolar* (March, 1928); and *La Orientación profesional* (April, 1928).

The June, 1928, issue of *La Nueva Democracia* has the following articles: "La sexta Conferencia americana y la Intervención", by Jacinto López; "Las Causas externas e internas del actual Renacimiento cultural español", by R. Vázquez Cabañas; "Proyecto de Corte panamericana de Justicia presentado por la Delegación de Colombia"; "Expedición fantástica a Bolivia"; "La Cuestión feminista de México", by Alba Herrera y Ogazón. July: "Dos Patriotas bien conocidos se ponen al Habla"; "Hacia la Amistad continental", by John C. Granbery; "La sexta Conferencia internacional vista por los Católicos"; "Fines de la segunda Enseñanza"; "Un Concilio general y la Reforma"; "Los grandes Conflictos espirituales, mentales y corporales", by Carlos Izaguirre V.; "La Aspiración hispánica hacia una Comunidad internacional", by José Pla; "La Universidad más antigua de las Américas", by José Miguel Bejarano; "Las Mu-

jeros de la Raza y el Sufragio", by Elena Arizmendi. August: "La Aspiración Hispánica hacia una Amistad continental", by José Pla; "Buenos Consejos—Un Español juzgando la Situación de Puerto Rico", by Luís Araquistáin; "La Conferencia internacional de Maestros de Buenos Aires".

El Curioso Americano, which is published by Dr. Manuel Pérez Beato of Havana, contains in the issue for March-April, 1928, materials as follows: "Catálogo genealógico de Apellidos Cubanos—Garro"; "Cervantes en Cuba" (continued); "El Partida de Palmillas"; "Huracan del Año 1846" (continued); "La Obrapía de Calvo de la Puerta"; "Convento de Santa Clara".

In the June, 1928, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Dr. Kathryn Abbey of the Florida State College for Women presents a paper on "Efforts of Spain to Maintain Sources of Information in the British Colonies before 1779".

The *Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública* publishes among noteworthy articles in recent issues, those mentioned below. The number for December, 1927 has: "El Imperialismo de los Estados Unidos y la Necesidad de un Monroe iberoamericano", by José León Suárez; "La Educación secundaria en los Países Sud-Americanos"; "Educación para Selección intelectual y Cultura nacional"; "De donde viene el Nombre de Mexico", by Enrique Juan Palacios. February, 1928: Enrique Juan Palacios concludes his article on "De donde viene el Nombre de Mexico"; "Escuelas federales en San Luís Potosí". April, 1928: "Informe que rinde al Ciudadano Secretario de Educación el Licenciado Enríque Jiménez D., sobre la VI Conferencia internacional americana celebrada en Cuba". May, 1928: "Escuelas rurales en los Estados Unidos", by Professor Rafael Ramírez; "En fin supremo de la Escuela mexicana y los medios por los que puede realizarlo", by Ezequiel A. Chavez; "Acción educaciva de las Bibliotecas en la República mexicana", by Licenciada Esperanza Velázquez Bringas. The *Boletín* presents monthly reports from the various departments of the secretariat of public education that merit study.

The *Diario de Pernambuco*, of Pernambuco, Brazil, devoted a great part of its issue of March 25 to Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima. Part of the issue of March 27 was also devoted to the same distinguished Brazilian.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell will publish through D. Appleton & Co. this year a volume on *Some Spanish American Poets and their Work*. Miss Blackwell has devoted years of study to this subject and her book will doubtless be the best contribution in English that has yet appeared on it.

Mr. Charles Martel, chief, catalogue division, Library of Congress, who went to Rome early this year to advise with regard to the classification and cataloguing of the Library of the Vatican, reports the discovery by Dr. Izak Collijn of Stockholm (also in Rome in an advisory capacity) of a very rare edition of the Vespucci letter (Hagenau, 1505?). The first page of this shows the following title: Von der neüw gefunden Region // die wol ain welt genent mag werden // durch Cristenlichen // kiinig von portugal // wunderbarlich erfunden.//

Miss Helen Douglas-Irvine, whose article on Chile appears in this issue of the REVIEW, read a paper on "The Conquistadores" before a meeting of the Lingard Society on April 2, 1928, which was published in *The Tablet*, of May 5. She draws much of her material from Chile.

Houghton and Mifflin have published a new printing of Mary Austin's *The Land of Little Rain*, which was first brought out in 1903. This consists of sketches of the southwestern desert country—formerly Spanish and then Mexican territory. The several sketches form a vivid description of this region.

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